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The purpose of this study is to describe the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis, Tennessee. The study deals with the phonology and grammar of the students' speech. The phonological analysis is limited to a description of the segmental phonemes, their allophones, and their incidence. The grammatical analysis is limited to a description of the parts of speech, the function words, the major sentence patterns, and the major patterns of modification and coordination. The structure of the speech of the students is compared with that of standard English, particularly that of the Southern area. Eighteen students from three large high schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods were interviewed. Thirteen group discussions, all taking place in the students' classrooms, were also taped. The selection of students and groups was kept as close to random selection as possible. Results show that the phonological system of their speech is that which is found in the Southern area. Most of the grammatical patterns which they use are found in standard or substandard Southern English. Two, which occur with some frequency, a noun possessive that is identical with the base form of the noun and "they" used as a possessive form, are not. A sentence pattern with a zero copula which some students use may occur in the Southern Mountain area. (Author/DO)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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THE SPEECH OF NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Juanita V. Williamson

LeMoyne College

Memphis, Tennessee

June 30, 1968

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to describe the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis, Tennessee.

The study deals with both the phonology and grammar of the speech of the students. The phonological analysis is limited to a description of the segmental phonemes and their incidence and to a few comments on the suprasegmental phonemes. The grammatical analysis is limited to a description of the parts of speech, the function words, the major sentence patterns and the major patterns of modification and coordination.

A composite method was used in gathering the materials for the study, that used in gathering the material for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* and that of taping group discussions. Eighteen students from three large high schools in predominately Negro neighborhoods were interviewed. Thirteen group discussions, all taking place in the students' classrooms, were also taped. The selection of students and groups was kept as close to random selection as possible.

For several years the students at the three schools have been grouped according to their academic achievement. Three of the students interviewed were on level III, above average, nine on level II, average, six on level I, below average. One group taking part in the discussions was on level III, seven were on level II, five were on level I.

The phonological system of the students' speech is the same as that found in the Southern area. The phonemes of their speech are the same as those which are found in standard Southern speech, as described by Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid in *The Pronunciation of English in The Atlantic States*. Almost all of the vowel phonemes have diphthongal allophones. Diphthonization of the vowels is a feature of Southern speech. A few of the allophones of the phonemes used by the students are found chiefly in substandard Southern speech, for example, the [ɜᶤ] allophone of /ɜ/, which occurs in *girl*. Standard speakers, however, sometimes use [ɜᶤ]. The consonant system of the speech of the students is the same as that found in those areas of the South where final and preconsonantal / r / does not occur as such. The incidence of the phonemes in the vocabulary is generally the same as that found in Southern speech.

The grammatical patterns found in the speech of the level III students are generally those found in standard English.

Some of the patterns found in the speech of level I and II students occur chiefly in substandard English, for example, the third person present tense singular form which is identical with the base form of the verb, the past tense form which is identical with the base form of the verb, pronoun forms such as *hisself*, *this-here*. Some of the substandard patterns are found primarily in the Southern area; others are found in substandard American English in general. Two forms which they use with some frequency, the singular possessive noun form that is identical with

the base form of the noun and the plural possessive pronoun form they, are not mentioned in any study of substandard speech consulted. A statement pattern in which there is a zero copula occurs in their speech. This pattern is not mentioned in any study consulted; there is some evidence, however, that it may occur in the Smoky Mountain area. The parts of speech, the function words, the sentence patterns, with the exception of the pattern in which the zero copula occurs, the patterns of subordination and coordination which occur in their speech are generally the same as those found in standard English.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE, BACKGROUND AND SCOPE

It is the purpose of this study to describe the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis, Tennessee.

This study has grown out of a concern of a number of the English teachers in those Memphis high schools whose student body is totally Negro and of the English faculty of LeMoyne College, whose students come in large part from those schools.

Persons who do not have at their command a standard dialect of English are at a tremendous disadvantage in our present day society. Many Negroes belong to this group. Their lack of control of a standard dialect limits them in their public activities while they are in school, and, what is more important, will do so in their adult life. Their language labels them as uneducated and carries with it the stigma of ignorance.

This has been recognized to an increasing degree in recent years. It has also been recognized that any program instituted to help students gain control of a standard dialect of English should be based on an understanding of how the dialect used by the students operates and how it is related to a standard dialect.[1]

This study deals with both the phonology and the grammar of the speech of the students. The phonological analysis is limited to a description of the segmental phonemes and their incidence and to a few comments on the suprasegmental phonemes.[2] The grammatical analysis is limited to a description of the parts of speech and function words, the major sentence patterns and major patterns of modification and coordination.

It is hoped that this study will be a first step in a continuing effort to help Negro high school students in Memphis who do not control a standard dialect to gain such a control. It is also hoped that, since many Negro students in large urban areas outside the South, such as Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and New York, come from the area of which Memphis is a part, it will be of value to persons in those areas who seek to understand more fully their students' speech problems.

RELATED STUDIES

A number of studies recently completed or currently being made are focused wholly or in part on the speech of Negro students. Among these are the Detroit Dialect Study, directed by Roger Shuy; The Urban Language Study (Washington, D.C.), sponsored by the Center of Applied Linguistics; The Chicago Speech Survey, Communication Barriers to the Culturally Deprived, directed by Alva Davis and Raven I. McDavid; Language Resources for Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged, directed by Alva Davis; The Preparation of Materials and Course of Study for Improving the Command of Standard English of Entering Freshmen at Tougaloo College, Mississippi, directed by W. Nelson Francis; and A Study of the Structure of English Used by Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers of New York City, directed by William Labov.[3] No studies, however, other than the present one, have been made of the speech of Negro students in a Mid-South urban area.

METHOD

A composite method was used in gathering the material for the study, that used in gathering the material for the Linguistic Atlas of New England, described in the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, by Hans Kurath; and that which has been used with some success by John Gumperz, of the University of California, reported on at the Conference on Urban Speech held at Indiana University, July, 1964.[4] The method used in collecting the material for the Linguistic Atlas of New England is that of interviewing individual informants who respond to the same body of material, that included in the worksheets of the Linguistic Atlas of New England. The method used by Professor Gumperz is that of taping group discussions.

Eighteen students, two from each of the grades 10-12 at three large high schools in predominately Negro neighborhoods in widely separated sections of the city, were interviewed. To keep the selection of students as close to random selection as possible and yet have students who were willing to be interviewed, the English teachers at each school were asked to solicit volunteers from their classes. At each school the first two volunteers on each grade level were selected.[5] None were known to the research staff before the interviews.

In each of the schools students have been grouped for several years according to their academic achievement: those who are above average are on level III; those who are average on level II; those below average, level I.[6] Of the eighteen students interviewed, three were on level III, nine on level II, and six on level I. The students interviewed are numbered one to eighteen and are designated by level. Thus, student 1-II is student one and is on level II. Biographical sketches of the students are given in Appendix A.

For the interviews the short worksheets of the Linguistic Atlas of New England were used. These contain 587 items, chiefly words and phrases. Approximately four interview sessions, each lasting an hour or an hour and a half, were needed for each interview. At the beginning of each interview session, the students were encouraged to talk freely and to comment on the material to which they were asked to respond. All of this was taped. The interviews, therefore, include a fairly large body of free conversation, that is, connected discourse. Each student was asked also to read the short selection used by C.K. Thomas in his study of the low back vowels. This was also taped and has been used in the phonological analysis. The selection is given in Appendix B.

The phonological analysis is based primarily on the material obtained from the eighteen interviews. Whenever the material obtained from the discussion groups could add something to the analysis, it was used. The analysis used is essentially that found in the studies which are based on the materials of the Linguistic Atlas of New England.

The one-word or phrase answers given in response to the items in the worksheets do not provide a corpus adequate for a grammatical study. The material obtained from the group discussions does.

Thirteen group discussions were taped. Fourteen classes volunteered to take part in the discussions; two small classes at one school were combined for one discussion. The size of the discussion groups varied from twenty-five to thirty-five students. All of the discussions took place in the classrooms because there was no other available space in the schools. The discussions are numbered from 19-31. The level of each group is also indicated; thus, a discussion by a class whose academic achievement is low is designated 19-I. There are one level III, seven level II, and five level I groups.

It has been hoped that the same topics would be discussed by all groups, but the students would take part in the discussions only if they selected the topics. Among the subjects discussed were Silas Marner, which two classes were reading at the time; teen-agers and driving; sports; and a proposed change of one of the senior high schools to a junior high school. Excerpts from several of the discussions are given in Appendix C.

In the grammatical analysis the material obtained from the interviews was also used whenever it could add something, particularly in terms of students on a given level. The analysis used follows generally that used by C. C. Fries[7] and W. Nelson Francis.[8]

In the concluding chapter the structure of the speech of the students is compared with that of standard English.

CHAPTER II

THE PHONEMES

There are a number of ways in which the vowels may be phonemized, each of which has some validity. The system used in this study follows that which is generally used in the studies based on the materials of the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*.[1]

In the following treatment of the phonemes, each phoneme is described, its most important allophones are given and the conditions governing their occurrence stated, wherever the materials used warrant such a statement.

THE VOWEL PHONEMES

There are seventeen vowel phonemes in the speech of the students. They are:

/ i / as in *eat*, *seed*, *three*

/ ɪ / as in *it*, *give*, *six*

/ e / as in *ate*, *cake*, *way*

/ ɛ / as in *egg*, *vest*, *yellow*

/ æ / as in *ask*, *sack*, *January*

/ u / as in *spoon*, *you*, *two*

/ ʊ / as in *good*, *push*, *pull*

/ o / as in *over*, *coat*, *ago*

/ ɔ / as in *ought*, *fog*, *law*

/ ɜ / as in *girl*, *nurse*, *heard*

/ ʌ / as in *onion*, *brush*, *shut*

/ ɑ / as in *pot*, *rock*, *college*

/ ɒ / as in *barn*, *car*, *garden*

/aɪ/ as in *ivy*, *nine*, *July*

/ɑʊ/ as in *owl*, *draught*, *cow*

/ɔɪ/ as in *oil*, *joint*, *boy*[2]

/ə / as in ago, Saturday, sofa

The phoneme / i / of eat, seed, three occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong [ɪi], beginning unrounded lower high-front and gliding up to a higher front position. Another diphthong [ɪ^i] occurs with about equal frequency. / i / occurs initially, medially and finally.

/ i / occurs sporadically[3] before / ə̯ /, which replaces preconsonantal and final / r / in the speech of the students. In this environment / i / occurs as a lowered monophthong. Student 9-II has / i / in ear and year, [i˅ə̯, ji˅ə], / iə̯, jiə /. 13-II has / i / in year, [ji˅ə̯], / jiə /. / i / occurs finally in foggy, Mary as a lowered monophthong [i˅]. In this environment it alternates with / ɪ /.

The phoneme / ɪ / of it, give, six occurs most frequently as an unrounded lower high-front monophthong [ɪ]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. A diphthong [ɪᵊ] occurs sporadically. A diphthong with a more centralized beginning [ɪ̄ᵊ] occurs in whip in the speech of a student 5-I and 14-I, [hwɪ̄ᵊp].

In the dissyllabic words chimney, kitchen / ɪ / occurs as a monophthong. / ɪ / occurs finally in foggy, Mary, where it alternates with / i /.

/ ɪ / occurs before / ə̯ / and / r / in year and ear in the speech of those students who have / ɪ / in these words. Students 1-II, 3-II, 7-III, 8-III and 12-III have / r / in these words, [jɪɚ, ɪɚ], / jɪr, ɪr /.

The phoneme / e / of ate, cake, way occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong, beginning unrounded higher mid-front and gliding up to a higher position [eɪ]. Of somewhat less frequency is a diphthong [eɪ]. / e / occurs initially, medially and finally.

Before / l / in pail a diphthong [eᵊ] almost always occurs. In the dissyllabic words April, apron / e / occurs both as a monophthong [e] and as a diphthong [eɪ]. [eɪ] occurs more frequently.

/ e / does not occur before / ə̯ / or final or preconsonantal / r /. It occurs before / r / in Mary both as a monophthong and as a diphthong.

The phoneme / ɛ / of egg, vest, yellow occurs most frequently as an unrounded lower mid-front monophthong [ɛ]. Upgliding diphthongs [ɛɪ̄, ɛᵊ] also occur. / ɛ / occurs initially and medially.

Before / g / in egg, [ɛ̄] occurs in the speech of students 14-I and 16-I. Before / l / in shell, / ɛ / occurs as [ɛᵊ] in the speech of all of the students.

In the polysyllabic words seven, February, yellow, a monophthong [ɛ] always occurs.

/ɛ~ɪ/ before / n /. Students 1-II, 6-II, 12-III and 15-II have / ɛ / in fence, ten, general. Student 18-II has both / ɛ / and / ɪ /. All other students have / ɪ /.

/ ɛ / occurs before / ə / in ear[ɛə] in the speech of student 14-I. All others have /i / or / ɪ /.

/ ɛ / occurs as a monophthong before intervocalic / r / in merry, cherry. /ɛ~ɪ/ in clearing. Students 3-II, 10-I and 14-I have / ɛ /; All others have / ɪ /.

The phoneme / æ / of ask, sack, January occurs both as a higher low-front monophthong[æ] and as an upgliding diphthong[æᵋ, æᵉ]. / æ / occurs initially and medially.

Before / k, g / in sack, bag, it occurs most frequently as a diphthong[æᵋ, æᵉ]. Three level II students have[æ] in these words.

In catch and dance the diphthong[æᵋ] almost always occurs. In ask, all level I students and two-thirds of the level II students have[æᵋ]. The level III students and one-third of the level II students have a monophthong [æ] .

/ æ / occurs as a monophthong in the polysyllabic words January, pasture.

The phoneme / u / of spoon, you, two occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong[ʊu], beginning rounded lower high-back and gliding up to a higher position. Of somewhat less frequency in occurrence is a diphthong [ʊ˂u˂]. / u / occurs initially, medially and finally.

After / d, t, š, č / in dues, Tuesday, shoes, chew / u / usually occurs as[ʊ˂u˂].[ʊu] also occurs, but not as frequently as [ʊ˂ u˂] .

/ u / occurs before / ə / and final and preconsonantal / r / usually as a monophthong[uᵛ] in yours. Four students have / o / in this word. There are no instances in which / u / occurs before intervocalic / r /.

The phoneme / ʊ / of good, push, pull occurs most frequently as a rounded lower high-back monophthong[ʊ] . It occurs only in medial position in the materials used in this study.

Ingliding allophones[ʊᶦ, ʊᵊ] also occur. Before / š / in push students 5-I, 14-I and 18-II have[ʊᶦ]. In pull two-thirds of the students have[ʊᵊ].

In the dissyllabic words butcher, bushel [ʊ] usually occurs. One student has / ʌ / .

The phoneme / o / of over, coat, ago occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong [oʊ], beginning rounded higher mid-back and gliding up to a rounded lower high-back position. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

/ o / occurs before /ə / and / r / in *door* and *four*. Before /ə̯ / it occurs as a monophthong[doə̯ ,foə̯] , /doə̯, foə̯/. Four students, 1-11, 6-III, 12-III, 15-II, have / r / in these words, and / o / occurs as a diphthong[oʊ],[doʊɚ,foʊɚ],/dor ,for/. 11-1 and 16-I do not have either /ə̯ / or / r /;[doʊ ,foʊ],/do ,fo /.

The phoneme /ɔ / of *ought*, *fog*, *law* occurs both as a rounded higher low-back monophthong[ɔ]and as an upgliding diphthong[ɔᵒ ,ɔᵘ]. /ɔ/ occurs initially, medially and finally. Before / g / in *dog*, *fog*, *log*, /ɔ / usually occurs as a diphthong[ɔᵒ, ɔᵘ]. Four students have[ɔ] in *dog*, five have[ɔ] in *fog*, two have[ɔ]in *log*. In *trough* and *frost* [ɔᵒ] usually occurs. Two students have[ɔ]in *trough*; two have[ɔ]in *frost*.

In the dissyllabic words *office*, *foggy* /ɔ / occurs as a monophthong. One student, 9-II, has /ɑ / in these words. /ɔ / occurs finally in *law* in the phrase *law and order*.

/ɔ / occurs before / r / and /ə̯ / in *storm*, *war*, *forty* as a monophthong; / r /, however, is of infrequent occurrence in these words; /ə̯ / usually occurs. One-third of the students have /ɑ/ in *storm*.

In *born*, *corn*, *torn*, *worn* /ɔ/ occurs most frequently as a well-rounded monophthong[ɔ˞]before / r / and /ə /. When /ə/ and / r / do not occur in these words, /ɔ / occurs as a diphthong[ɔ͡ʊ]. /ɔ / occurs as a lengthened monophthong[ɔˑ]before intervocalic / r / in *borrow*, in the speech of student 5-I. All of the other students have /ɑ / in this word.

The phoneme /ɜ / of *girl*, *heard*, *thirty* occurs most frequently as a mid-central vowel, sometimes lengthened, with a short upglide[ɜᶦ,ɜɚ]. A constricted sound[ɜ̣] sometimes occurs, but this is taken to be /ɜr/ phonemically. /ɜ / occurs medially and finally. It does not occur initially in the materials of this study.

In *girl* the diphthong[ɜᶦ]occurs most frequently. One student, 14-I, has[ɜ]. Five students, 1-II, 5-I, 9-II, 15-II, 18-II, have[ɜ],[gɜ̣ɫ], /gɜrl/. In *heard* and *thirty* the occurrence of /ɜ / parallels that in *girl*.

/ɜ / occurs finally in *sir* in the speech of those students who do not have final / r / in this word. Here /ɜ / occurs as a diphthong [ɜɜ˞].

/ɜ / does not occur before /ə̯ /. It occurs before / r / in *sir* in the speech of students 1-II, 5-I, 15-II, 18-II.

The phoneme /ʌ / of *onion*, *brush*, *shut* occurs most frequently as an unrounded lower mid-back vowel which is sometimes advanced[ʌ ,ʌ˂]. It does not occur in final position.

Before / s, j / in brush, judge /ʌ / usually occurs as a diphthong, [ʌᶤ]. Six students have [ʌ] in brush, five have [ʌ] in judge.

/ʌ / does not occur before /ə̯ / or final or preconsonantal / r /. It occurs before intervocalic / r / in worry, where it alternates with /ɜ /. In this environment it is a monophthong.

The phoneme /ɑ / of aunt, rock, college occurs both as a monoph- and as an upgliding diphthong, [ɑ, ɑɑ̂]; the monophthong occurs more frequently than the diphthong. /ɑ / occurs initially and medially. It occurs finally as a diphthong in two words in the materials, ma, pa. Neither of them is of frequent occurrence in the materials.

In the dissyllabic words college, cottage (cheese), vomit, /ɑ / occurs as a monophthong, sometimes lengthened [ɑ, ɑ·].

/ɑ~ɒ / in palm, calm. Two-thirds of the students have /ɑ / in these words; one-third have /ɒ /.

/ɑ~ɒ / in barn, garden. When / r / or /ə̯ / occurs in these words, /ɑ / is used. When these do not occur, /ɒ / is used. One student has /ɒ / in barn. All others have /ɑ /. Approximately half of the students have / r / in this word, [baə̯n], /barn /. Three students have /ɑ / in garden [gaə̯dn̩, /gardən/. All others have /ɒ /, [ga˃dn̩, ga˃ɑ̂dn̩], /gɒdən /.

/ɑ/ occurs before intervocalic / r / in borrow, tomorrow as a lengthened monophthong [a·].

The phoneme /ɒ/ of card, garden, car occurs most frequently as a low central retracted vowel, usually lengthened, sometimes with a short upglide [a˃, a˃ɑ̂]. /ɒ / occurs initially, medially and finally. /ɒ / does not occur before /ə̯ / or / r /.[4]

/ɒ~ɑ/ in card, car. One student has /ɒ / in card; two have it in car, [kʰa˃·d, kʰa˃ɑ̂], /kɒd, kɒ/. Level III students have / r / in these words. All others have /ə̯ /.

All of the students have /ɒ / in garbage, guardian.

The phoneme /ạɪ/ of ivy, nine, July occurs as an upgliding diphthong [ạᵆ, ạᵋ, ạɪ] beginning low-front and gliding up to a higher-front position, and as a monophthong [ạ, ạ˃]. /ạɪ/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

In five and nine the level III students usually have [ạɪᵛ]; level I and II students usually have [ạᵆ, ạᵋ, ạ]. [ạ] occurs more frequently.

All of the students have the monophthong [ạ] in ivy, library.

Four students, 1-II, 8-III, 15-II, 18-II, have /ạɪ/ before / r / in wire. One student, 14-I, pronounces this word [wa·]. It is dissyllabic in the speech of all other students [waᵋ-ə, waɪ-ə], /waɪ-ə/.

The phoneme /aʊ/ of owl, draught, cow occurs most frequently as a diphthong [aʊ], beginning unrounded low-front and gliding up to or towards a lower high-back position. A diphthong with a retracted low-front beginning occurs sporadically [a˒ʊ].

/aʊ/ occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position in cow the first element of the diphthong is sometimes lengthened [a·ʊ].

One student has two syllables in owl, [aʊ-əɫ], four have two syllables in towel [tʰaʊ-əɫ].

/aʊ/ occurs before /ə̯/ in our [aʊə̯].

The phoneme /ɔɪ/ of oil, joint, boy occurs most frequently as a diphthong [ɔɪ], beginning rounded lower mid-back and gliding up to or toward high-front position. /ɔɪ/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

Before / l / in oil, boil, spoiled, a diphthong with a glide to a mid-central position [ɔᵻ ,ɔə^] almost always occurs.

There are no instances of /ɔɪ/ occurring before /ə̯/ or / r /.

VOWEL PHONEMES OF WEAKLY STRESSED SYLLABLES

Six vowel phonemes occur in weakly stressed syllables, /i, ɪ, e, u, o, ə/.

/i~ɪ/ in final position in foggy, Cincinnati and Mary. One-third of the students have / i / in these words. In Tuesday, Wednesday / e / occurs as a short monophthong in the speech of all of the type III students and three of the type II students.

The phoneme /ɪ/ occurs in dishes, haunted, bucket as an unrounded lower front monophthong [ɪ]. It occurs before a weakly stressed vowel in guardian and diphtheria.

The phoneme / e / occurs finally in Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday as an unrounded higher mid-front monophthong [e]. It is usually very short. An upgliding diphthong occurs sporadically. In these words / e / alternates with /ɪ/ and / i /.

The phoneme /ə/ occurs initially, medially and finally in ago, Saturday, sofa as a mid-central monophthong [ə]. In January and February it alternates with / u /. About one-third of the students have / u / in January. In February, a little less than half have / u /. It occurs finally in father, mother, daughter when / r / does not occur in these words.

The phoneme / u / occurs finally in Matthew, nephew as a rounded high-back monophthong, sometimes advanced[u ,u<]. It occurs medially in January, February where it alternates with /ə /.

The phoneme / o / occurs finally in borrow, Negro, tomorrow, wheelbarrow, yellow as a rounded mid-back monophthong, frequently very short and advanced[o, ŏ<]. A short upgliding diphthong occurs sporadically. /o~ə / in all these words except Negro. /ɚ / occurs more frequently in the speech of type I students than in the speech of type II students. /ə / is infrequent in the speech of type III students. /o/ always occurs in Negro, which has tertiary stress on this syllable.

THE CONSONANT PHONEMES

There are twenty-five consonant phonemes in the speech of the students. They are:

/ p / as in post, apple, help

/ t / as in two, tomatoes, fit

/ k / as in coat, bucket, sack

/ b / as in barn, garbage, spiderweb

/ d / as in dog, guardian, bread

/ g / as in girl, garbage, bag

/ c / as in chimney, chair, watch

/ ǰ / as in judge, college, garbage

/ f / as in four, nephew, cough

/θ/ as in think, Martha, bath

/ s / as in six, yesterday, purse

/ š / as in shut, bushel, brush

/ h / as in heard, house, behind

/ v / as in vest, seven, five

/ ð / as in this, father, with

/ z / as in thousand, cheese

/ ž / as in television, garage[5]

/ m / as in mouth, tomorrow, storm

/ n / as in nine, evening, ten

/ ŋ / as in drank, singing, morning

/ l / as in log, twelve, pail

/ r / as in room, tomorrow, door

/ ə̯ / as in fire, wire, beard

/ j / as in yesterday, onions

/ w / as in wash, watch, twelve

The phoneme / p / of post, apple, help is a voiceless bilabial stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally. Initially it is aspirated [pʰ], as in post, plow. After / s /, as in spiderweb, it is unaspirated [p]. In final position [pʰ] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone [p˺]. In the final consonant cluster / sp /, as in wasp, / p / is usually lightly articulated. Three level I students do not have / p / in this word.

The phoneme / t / of two, tomatoes, fit is a voiceless alveolar stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally. Initially it is aspirated [tʰ], as in two, twelve. After / s / in string, stomp it is unaspirated [t]. In final position [tʰ] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone [t˺].

Intervocalically, as in Saturday, a flap [ɾ] occurs in free variation with [tʰ]. [ɾ] occurs more frequently than [tʰ].

The phoneme / k / of kitchen, bucket, sack is a voiceless velar stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally. It is aspirated in initial position [kʰ]. After / s / as in skin[6], it is unaspirated [k]. In final position [kʰ] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone [k˺].

The phoneme / b / of broom, garbage, spiderweb is voiced bilabial stop [b]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position [b] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone [b˺].

The phoneme / d / of dog, widow, bread is a voiced alveolar stop [d]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position [d] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone [d˺]. In rind, second, thousand half of the students do not have / d /. In pounds, approximately one-fourth do not have / d /. The level III students and students 1-II and 15-II almost always have / d / in these words.

The phoneme / g / of garage, foggy, bag is a voiced alveolar stop [g]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position

[g] is in free variation with an unreleased allophone.

The phoneme / č / of chair, chimney, watch is a voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate [tʃ]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. It occurs in rinse /rɪnč / in the speech of one-third of the level I and II students.

The phoneme / ǰ / of judge, college, garbage is a voiced alveolo-palatal fricative [dʒ]. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

The phoneme / f / of four, laughing, deaf is a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In the sequence /fθ / in fifth it alternates with zero. All of the level I and one-third of the level II students have /fɪf /. The level III students have /fɪfθ/.

The phoneme / θ / of thirty, Martha, teeth is a voiceless dental fricative [θ] . It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position in bath[7] and mouth, / θ / alternates with / f /. Approximately one-half of the level I students have / f / in bath. Two-thirds of them have / f / in mouth. All of the level II and III students have /θ/ in both words.

In with / θ / alternates with / f / and / d /. With occurs several times in the passage read by the students and very frequently in the discussions. In the passage read, all level I students except one have / θ /; student 16-1 has / f /. All level II students except one have / θ /. Student 9-11 has both /θ/ and / f /. In the level I and II discussions / d / and / f / occur with about equal frequency; /θ/ does not occur. In the level III discussion /θ/ occurs in one-half of the instances, / d / in one-fourth and / f / in one-fourth.

All of the students have /θ / in teeth.

The phoneme / s / of six, yesterday, purse is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] . It occurs initially, medially and finally. A lengthened allophone [s·] occurs sometimes in posts, wasps [pʰoʊs·, wɔɔ^s·].

The phoneme / š / of shrank, bushel, brush is a voiceless alveolar fricative [ʃ]. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

The phoneme / h / of heard, house, behind is a glottal fricative made with the lip and tongue position of the sound which follows [h] . It occurs initially and medially before vowels in stressed syllables. It does not occur finally.

The phoneme / v / of vase, seven, five is a labio-dental fricative [v] . It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position it is often lightly articulated.

The phoneme /ð / of this, father, with is a voiced dental fricative [ð] . It occurs initially, medially and finally. It occurs sporadically in final position in with in the phrase with milk.

/θ/ occurs more frequently here.

In the interviews /ð~d/ in this. One-half of the level I students have / d /. All of the level II and III students have /ð /.

In the discussions this, that, they and the occur frequently. In the level I discussions / d / occurs 65% of the time in this, /ð / 35%; in the level II discussions / d / occurs 26% of the time, /ð / 74%. In the level I discussions / d / occurs 52% of the time in that, /ð / 48%; in the level II discussions / d / occurs 15% of the time, /ð / 85%. In the level I discussions / d / occurs in they 79% of the time, /ð / 21%; in the level II discussions / d / occurs 19% of the time, /ð / 81%. In the level I discussions / d / occurs in the 52% of the time, /ð / 48%; in the level II discussions / d / occurs 22% of the time, /ð / 78%. In the level III discussion only /ð / occurs in these words.

The phoneme / z / of thousand, cheese is a voiced alveolo-fricative [z]. It occurs medially and finally. There are no instances of it occurring initially in the materials. In final position it is often lightly articulated.

The phoneme / ž / of pleasure, garage is a voiced alveola-palatal fricative[ʒ]. It occurs medially and finally. It does not occur in initial position.

The phoneme / m / of mouth, tomorrow, storm is a voiced bilabial nasal continuant[m]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position it is often lightly articulated.

The phoneme / n / of nine, evening, ten is a voiced alveolar nasal continuant[n]. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In final position it is often lightly articulated. A syllabic[n̩]occurs frequently after homorganic stops, as in bitten, ridden[bɪtn̩, rɪdn̩]. This is taken to be /ən/ phonemically.

Final / n / does not occur in apron, mountain in the speech of student 13-II. Student 14-I does not have final / n / in kitchen, /nd/ in rind; student 16-I does not have final / n / in tin. When / n / is not articulated, the preceding vowel is nasalized.

The phoneme /ŋ / of drank, singing, morning is a voiced velar nasal continuant[ŋ]. It occurs medially and finally. It does not occur in initial position. It alternates with / n / in words which end in -ing, as in singing, morning. All of the level I students and approximately half of the level II and III students have / n / in these words /sɪŋɪn, mɔə̯nɪn/.

The phoneme / l / of leg, twelve, pail is a voiced alveolar lateral continuant. It occurs initially, medially and finally. In initial position and between vowels, as in pulling, it is clear[l]. Before a consonant and in final position a dark[ɫ]is in free variation with a vocalized allophone [ɫ̯] , a sound which is formed by raising the back of the tongue toward the roof of the mouth. All of the level I and II students except two have[ɭ] in pail. All of the level III students have[ɫ]. In milk all of the level I and II students have[ɭ]; all of the level III students have[ɫ]. In shell all of the level I students have[ɭ]; all of the level II and III students have[ɫ]. In boil and barrel all of the students have[ɫ].

Syllabic[l̩] occurs after / t / in kettle. This taken to be phonemically /əl /.

The phoneme / r / of room, tomorrow, door occurs initially, medially and finally. Initially and medially between vowels / r / is a voiced alveolar frictionless continuant[ɹ]. In preconsonantal or final position, as in scared, butcher, it is a constricted mid-central sound[ɚ, ə̯]. / r / occurs only sporadically in this position. It is usually replaced by the unsyllabic / ə̯ / or zero.

In heard, girls, / r / occurs sporadically in the speech of the level II and III students. The majority of the students have[ɝ]in these words.

In scared, wire, fire, / r / occurs sporadically in the speech of the type III students. In the phrase law and order, / r / does not occur between the vowels / ɔ / and /æ /. / r / occurs in the phrase your aunt only in the speech of the three students who have / r / in your.

/ r / is lost in parents in the speech of students 3-II and 14-I, and the stressed vowel is lengthened[pʰæ·-ənts]; /æ / and / ə / belong to different syllables. It is lost in merry in the speech of student 14-I,[mɛ·-ɪ]; / ɛ / and / ɪ / belong to different syllables. All of the students have / r / in worry, carry, wheelbarrow and tomorrow.

The phoneme / ə̯ /[8] of fire, wire, beard is a semi-vowel with limited distribution. It occurs only in postvocalic position. Its allophones are phonetically identical with those of the mid-central vowel / ə /. However, / ə̯ / is unsyllabic, never the peak of a syllable. It alternates with / r / after front vowels and with / r / and zero after all others. / ə̯ / occurs more frequently than / r / in chair, scarce. It occurs in sure, yours where it alternates with / r / and zero. / ə̯ / occurs more frequently.

The phoneme / j / of yesterday, onions is a voiced palatal continuant[j]. It occurs initially and medially. It occurs between the initial consonant and / u / in music, beautiful. It does not occur in final position.

The phoneme / w / of wash, watch, twelve is a voiced bilabial frictionless continuant articulated with rounded lips[w]. It occurs initially and medially. It does not occur finally.

THE SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

This study does not have as one of its purposes the study of the suprasegmental phonemes of the speech of the students. In transcribing the responses to the items in the worksheets, however, stress was marked on all responses of more than one syllable. Intonation, as well as stress, was indicated on approximately one-third of the "free" connected discourse which was transcribed from the tapes. Some limited statements can be made, therefore, about the stress and intonation patterns.

There are four degrees of stress found in the speech of the students: primary / , secondary ∧ , tertiary \ , weak ᴗ .

Three of these, primary, tertiary and weak, occur on such words as January /jǽnjŭɛ̀rɪ̆/, secretary /sɛ́krə̆tɛ̀rɪ/.

The phrase Happy New Year, which occurs in the responses of two-thirds of the students, has four stresses:

Hâppy̆ Néw Yèar

The grammatical pattern noun + noun has the stress pattern / \ , for example:

végĕtăble gàrdĕn

chíckĕn còop

stríng bèans

One level I student has strîng béans.

The grammatical pattern participle + noun has the stress pattern ∧ / , as in:

bôiled éggs

haûnted hóuse

One level III student has haúnted hoùse; one level II student has bóiled èggs.

The verb + adverb has the pattern / \ , as in:

féll òff

gét òff

Three levels of pitch are found in the interviews: low, level I; mid, level II; high, level III. A fourth level occurs once in discussion 19-I; it does not occur in the interviews. In the following statement the pitch rises to level four on nothing and again on that:

> The law nothing! The law ain't going to keep
> that man in jail.

The intonation pattern of the statement is 2 3 1, with a fading away (↓) at the end, for example:

2 3 ↓
I am going.

2 3 ↓
It wasn't I.

When a response is given with the assurance that it is "correct", the pattern is 2 3 1↓ or 3 1↓ :

2 3 1 ↓
Chicago

3 1 ↓
horseshoe

3 1 ↓
strong

When there is doubt about the "correctness" of an answer, there is a rise in pitch at the end, for example:

3
watch ↑

3
rose ↑

3
frost ↑

CHAPTER III

THE INCIDENCE OF THE PHONEMES

The incidence of the phonemes varies from region to region. The incidence may be systematic, that is, related to specific environments, as the occurence of / e,ɛ,æ/ before intervocalic / r / in Mary, merry, marry, and affect a whole range of morphemes. It may be non-systematic and vary from morpheme to morpheme.

In the following treatment of the incidence of phonemes in the speech of the students the systematic incidence is dealt with first.

/ɪ~ɛ/ before / n / as in fence, ten, general. The level III students and two level II students have /ɛ/ in these words. All other students have /ɪ/.

/æ/ almost always occurs before fricatives and nasals in such words as ask, calf, laughing, answer, can't. All of the students have /æ/ in ask, calf, answer. Two level II students have /ɑ/ in laughing. One level II student has / e / in can't. All have /ɑ/ in aunt.

In hoop, hoof, room, root, soot, coop, Cooper /ʊ~u/. The extent to which /ʊ/ or / u / occurs varies from word to word.

/ʊ/ always occurs in soot. /ʊ/ occurs more frequently than / u / in hoop, roof; / u / occurs more frequently in room, coop, Cooper. One student has / u / in hoof; two have it in roof; four have it in root. One student has /ʊ/ in room; two have it in coop; four have it in Cooper.

/ɔ~ɑ/ in words in which the syllabic is derived from Middle English o, as in pot, rock, frost, loft, cost, moth, office, closet, strong, vomit, college, fog, dog, born, corn, horse, morning, storm, orphan, tomorrow, borrow.

All of the students have /ɑ/ in pot, rock. All have /ɔ/ in loft, and cost. One student has /ɑ/ in frost; one has /ɑ/ in office; all others have /ɔ/. Two have /ɑ/ in moth; all others have /ɔ/. All have /ɑ/ in closet, vomit, college. All have /ɔ/ in strong. Three students have /ɑ/ in fog, foggy; all others have /ɔ/. All have /ɔ/ in born, corn, horse, morning. One student has /ɔ/ in borrow; all others have /ɑ/.

In words such as fought, taught, daughter in which the syllable is derived from Middle English au, /ɔ~ɑ/; /ɔ/ occurs more frequently than /ɑ/. One student has /ɑ/ in daughter; one has /ɑ/ in fought; two have /ɑ/ in taught. In words such as faucet, haunted, sausage /ɑ/ occurs more frequently than /ɔ/. In faucet and haunted two-thirds of the students have /ɑ/. In sausage three-fourths have /ɑ/.

In words in which the syllabic is derived from Middle English a preceded by / w / as in wash, watch, all of the students have /ɑ /.

/ɪ/ always occurs in weakly stressed syllables, as in bucket, dishes, haunted.

In final position in sofa, Georgia /ə / always occurs. In Cincinnati one student has /ə /; all others have /ɪ /.

In final position in borrow, tomorrow, wheelbarrow / o / usually occurs. All of the students have /ə / in borrow; one has it in tomorrow; two have it in wheelbarrow. / o / always occurs in Chicago, Ohio and Negro.

In wheelbarrow, whip two students have / w /. All others have / hw /.

The following vowels occur before /ə̯ / and final and preconsonantal / r /. / r /, however, occurs only sporadically.

/ɪ∼ɛ / in ear, year. / ɛ / occurs only sporadically.

/ æ / occurs in chair, scarce, careless.

/ u / occurs in sure.

/ o / occurs in door, four, hoarse, mourning.

/ ɔ / occurs in horse, morning, forty.

/ ɑ / occurs in barn, barbed.

/ɑɪ/ occurs in fire, wire.

/ɑʊ/ occurs in ours, shower.

/ ɜ / occurs before / r / in girl, heard.

Eight vowels occur before intervocalic / r /.

/ ɪ/ usually occurs in clearing. / ɛ/ occurs sporadically.

/ e / occurs in Mary.

/ ɛ/ occurs in cherry, merry.

/ u / occurs in bureau.

/ o / occurs in story.[1]

/ ɔ / occurs sporadically in borrow.

/ ɑ / occurs in borrow, tomorrow.

/ɑɪ/ occurs in (*fire*) *irons*.[2]

There are no instances in the materials of /ɑʊ/, /ɔɪ/ occurring before intervocalic / r /.

Intrusive / r / does not occur in such phrases as *law and order*.

Students who do not have preconsonantal and fianl / r / do not have linking / r / in *how far is it*. / r / occurs in this environmrnt only in the speech of students who have presonsonantal and final / r /.

The consonant clusters / -sp, -sps,-st, -sts, -nd, -f /, as in *wasp*, *wasps*, *post*, *posts*, *rind*, *second*, *fifth*, are frequently simplified. (See Consonants, Chapter II.)

In *with* /θ/ alternates with / d / and / f /. /ð/ occurs once. In the passage which the students read two level I students have / f /. In the discussions level I and II students have / d / and / f /. Level III students have /θ/. All students have /θ/ in *teeth*.

In *this*, *that*, *they*, *the* /ð~d/. Level I students use / d / more frequently, level II, /ð/ more frequently. Level III students use only /ð/.

Final / n / as in *apron* sometimes does not occur as such in the speech of level I students. When it does not occur, the preceding vowel is nasalized.

Many of the differences in the incidence of the phonemes in the various regions affect only individual words. A number of these are treated here. The words selected to be discussed are among these which are treated in *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* by Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid Jr.[3]

In *afraid* /ɛ~e/; / e / occurs in slightly more than half of the responses.

In *push*, *bushel*, *butcher* /ʊ/ usually occurs.

In *catch* /æ~ɛ/. /æ/ occurs in three-fifths of the responses.

In *deaf* all of the students except one have /ɛ/. Student 8-III has / i /.

In *joint* all of the students have /ɔɪ/.

In *keg* all of the students have /ɛ/.

In *nothing* all of the students have /ʌ/.

In *calm*, *palm* /ɑ~ɒ/. Two-thirds of the students have /ɑ/ in these words, one-third have /ɑ˞/.

In *shut* one student has /ɛ/. All others have /ʌ/.

In *touch* all of the students have /ʌ/.

Initial weakly stressed syllables are sometimes lost in some words used by the students. This loss occurs most frequently in the speech of type I students; it occurs sporadically in the materials of type III students. Students 6-1, 12-1, 17-1 do not have the first syllable in *about*; 12-1, 12-III, 16-II, 17-1 do not have the first syllable in *because*; 17-1 does not have the first syllable in *except* and *acquainted*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTS OF SPEECH

In this chapter and the three following the most important grammatical features of the students' speech are described. The examples used to illustrate the features are given in traditional spelling.[1] In instances where the spelling system inadequately represents a structure, phonemic notation is also used.

The words in the sentences[2] in the discussions are classified as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and function words. The first four, the parts of speech, are dealt with in this chapter. Each is described in terms of its inflections, derivational affixes, functions and positions in the sentence.

Each of the inflectional morphemes is described. When a morpheme has more than one allomorph, the conditions governing the occurrence of each are stated. Where alternative forms occur, their frequency of occurrence is indicated. If the forms occur infrequently, the number of times of their occurrence is given; if the number of occurrences is fairly large, the frequency of use is expressed in terms of a percentage.

NOUNS

The nouns have two inflections, the plural and the possessive. The plural of the majority of the nouns is formed by adding one of the regular allomorphs of the plural morpheme. / -s / is added to forms ending in voiceless sounds, except sibilants, for example:

works	/wɜks/
folks	/foks/
sonnets	/sanɪts/

/ -z / is added to forms ending in voiced sounds, except sibilants, for example:

friends	/frɪndz/
times	/taɪmz/
stories	/storɪz/

/-ɪz/ is added to forms which end in sibilants, for example:

scratches	/skræčɪz/
riches	/rɪčɪz/

exercises /ɛksəsaɪzɪz/

The plural forms of post and wasp are recorded in the interviews. These show some variation from the above.

The plural of post occurs as /poss, posts, postɪz/. One level I and two level II students have /poss/.[3] Two level I and two level II students have /postɪz/. All others have /posts/. (See Consonants, Chapter II.)

The plural of wasp occurs as /wɔss, wɔsp, wɔsps, wɔsɪz/. One level I student has /wɔss/; two level II students have /wɔsp/; two level I students have /wɔsɪz/. All others have /wɔsps/.

The plural of child is formed by adding the allomorph / -ən/ and changing the vowel in the base form, children. The plural of woman is formed by changing the stressed vowel in the base form, women.

The plural of man is formed by changing the vowel in the base form, men. There is one instance in which / -z / is also added, mens.

In the interviews the singular and plural forms of house, hoof, trough and ox are recorded. The plural of house is /haʊzɪz/. There are two plural forms of hoof, /hʊfs/ and /hʊvz/. Usage is equally divided. The plural of trough is usually /trɔfs/. Three students have /trɔvz/.

There are two instances in the discussions of plural nouns being used as singular ones:

He try to cure this here ladies. 19-I

You going to have a disadvantages. 24-II

There are fourteen instances in the level I and II discussions of a singular noun being used as a plural noun. Typical examples are:

He one of the richest man in town. 19-I

Boy have more interest to drive. 23-II

What are some of the thing? 24-II

The possessive singular is formed by adding the possessive morpheme to the base form of the noun. The morpheme has three allomorphs, / -s, -z, -Ø /. / -s / is added to singular nouns that end in voiceless sounds. Only one example occurs in the discussions:

James Blankenship's /blæŋkɪnšɪps/ opinion 24-II

/ -z / is added to those that end in voiced sounds. For example:

This man's /mænz/ heart 20-III

Mrs. Greene's /grinz/ 10:30 class 21-II

His father's /faðəz/ house 22-I

No possessive forms of nouns which end in sibilants are found in the materials. / - ∅ / may be added to any noun. Possessives formed by adding / - ∅ / occur in four discussions. In 19-I, approximately 50% of the singular possessives are formed by adding / - ∅ /; in 28-I, 40%. Two singular possessive forms occur in 30-II, one in 31-I; these are formed by adding /- ∅ /. The following are typical of the forms which occur:

Caesar house 19-I

Carver football team 28-I

Silas Marner life 28-I

The possessive plurals used in the discussions are formed by adding the / - ∅ / allomorph to the noun plural. Examples are:

All the drivers' rules 23-II

The teachers' performing 25-II

Grownups' accusations 26-II

In 19-I the form women occurs twice as a possessive:

Women part

Women novels

Many of the nouns are marked by derivational suffixes. The suffix most often used is -tion, as in election, prediction, education, integration. Others often used are:

-ence: difference, evidence, patience, reference

- er: teacher, leader, writer

- ity: opportunity, majority, inferiority, personality

-ment: government, adjustment, statement, commandment

-ness: gentleness, kindness, seriousness, filthiness, business

- or: actor, governor

-ship: companionship, friendship, leadership, scholarship

Less frequently used are:

-aire: millionaire

- al: trial, normal, formal

- cy: pregnancy, democracy

- dom: wisdom, freedom

- ery: robbery, archery, bakery

-ette: majorette

- ian: librarian, comedian

- ism: criticism

- is: basis

- ist: romanticist, communist

- ry: poetry, chemistry

- th: death, wealth

Nouns function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, retained objects, objective complements, subjective complements, adverbial nouns, appositives, objects of prepositions, noun adjuncts and nominatives of address.

The usual position of the subject is before the verb, except in questions and sentences which begin with there or it. (See Sentence Patterns, Chapter VI.) Typical of the subjects that occur in the materials are the following:

> We, the students of Carver High, have one of the best and bigger cafeterias in the city of Memphis. 27-II
>
> The change in Silas Marner's life was great. 28-I
>
> Many grownups today believe that teen-agers are wild. 26-II
>
> A person that's in office he should have a high achievement. 30-II

The position of the direct object is after the verb, for example:

> I haven't received a letter from the Board confirming it. 20-III

I had chance to go to Columbia, Michigan. 21-I

A good student council president must have the ability to lead. 30-II

The position of the indirect object is after the verb and before the direct object. Examples are:

This gives the reader a chance. 20-III

You'll still be teaching the dumb children the dumb things. 25-II

They don't give the teen-agers a chance. 26-II

She asked me where did we eat afterward. 31-I

Two retained objects occur in the materials. Their position is after the verb:

Tennyson was called the poet laureate. 22-I

The sonnets were called The Sonnets from the Portuguese. 22-I

There is one instance of a noun occurring as an objective complement. Its position is after the direct object:

The author called this particular story Vanity Fair. 22-I

The position of the subjective complement is after the verb, for example:

It was real friendship. 19-I

I think boys are worse drivers than girls. 23-II

He was a church-going young man. 30-II

Adverbial nouns usually occur after the verb or at the beginning of the sentence. Examples are:

We left and came home. 22-I

No, ma'am, suppose to git my license this summer. 23-II

Last year I was also placed in a higher class....24-II

An appositive is placed after the noun it modifies, for example:

He fled from his home town, Lantern Yard. 19-I

They oughtn't to have the real smart ones and the real dumb ones taking things, subjects, together. 25-II

All the animals did work except Snowball, the pig. 29-I

The object of a preposition follows the preposition to which it is linked. Examples are:

Of culture, beauty and power 22-I

Because of their families 26-II

To this lady 31-I

The position of the noun adjunct is before the noun it modifies. Examples are:

Auditorium period 20-III

Our school colors 21-II

A literature book 22-I

An orphan child 28-I

Nominatives of address occur at the beginning and end of sentences. These occur only sporadically in the materials. Typical examples are:

He did it, boy. 19-I

Naomi Bogan, have you a comment? 20-III

It's too late, Larry. 21-II

PRONOUNS. Pronouns are treated here as a sub-class of nouns. There are eight pronouns. I, we, you, he, she, it, they and who. Possessive and objective forms for most of these occur; they are listed below:

SUBJECT	POSSESSIVE	OBJECTIVE
I	my	me
we	our, ours	us
you	your, yours, you-alls	you, you-all
he	his	him
she	hers	her
it		

they	their, theirs, they	them
who	whose	whom

It is used both as a subject and as an object. No possessive for *it* occurs in the discussions. *Whom* occurs only in 20-III. It is there used as the object of a preposition:

Some enemies of the people *whom* he was caught by.

The forms *ours*, *hers*, *yours*, *theirs*, *you-all* and *you-alls* occur only in the interviews, where six students use the plural form *you-all*, two, *you-alls*. All others use *your* and *yours*. *Him* occurs once as a subject:

Him and some more of these men, well they killed him. 19-I

We occurs once as the object of a preposition:

It is necessary for *we* as the students. 23-II

Who occurs once as a possessive:

They git together and see whose car can outrun *who*. 23-II

Hisn occurs once as a possessive:

...when he lost *hisn*. 19-I

They occurs as a possessive seven times in three of the discussions. *Their* occurs 84% of the time, *they* 16%. This use of *they* is seen in the following:

They know *they* father may take away their license. 23-II

They see *they* parents doing this. 26-II

They second team moving up into the first team. 28-I

The pronouns *my*, *your*, *his*, *her*, *it*, *them*, *their*, *our* combine with *self*, for example:

...within the man *himself*. 19-I

She swore to *herself*....22-I

Richard Homer and *myself*, of course. 28-I

Hisself occurs twice; his *ownself*, once:

He imprison *hisself* in this place. 19-I

The man is subduing *hisself* to mental torture. 20-III

He just gave his *ownself* away. 20-III

Himselves occurs once:

A person who knows how to conduct *himselves* at certain times....30-II

The demonstrative pronouns *this*, *that*, *these*, *those* occur in all of the discussions. In 19-I *this here* occurs three times; *these here*, once:

this here lady

this here ladies

to write *this here*

these here kinds of problems

In seven of the discussions, 19-I, 22-I, 23-II, 24-II, 25-II, 26-II, 27-II, double subjects are used. The double subject consists of a subject followed by a pronoun which could itself be the subject. Examples are:

The federal government they sent people down there to see that Negroes git the privilege to vote. 19-I

A girl she thinks her father will go easy on her. 23-II

Those who are not going to summer school they should be urged to attend the public library more. 24-II

These children at this school they should look back and remember that at one time that they were teenagers themselves. 26-II

The number of double subjects in the discussions varies from two in 27-II to thirteen in 19-I, where they occur in 17% of the total instances in which they might occur.

VERBS

Verbs have four inflections, the third person singular, the past tense, the past participle, and the present participle. The verb *be*, which is somewhat different from other verbs, is treated separately.

In the present tense the base form of the verb is generally used with all persons except the third person singular, for example:

I *think* he didn't come. 19-I

Other people *make*.... 22-I

They *drop* out because they do
not have.... 23-II

When you *get* to college....24-II

We *have* over here.... 31-I

There is one instance in the discussions of an inflected form occurring with *I*:

I *haves* 30-II

There are seven instances of an inflected form occurring with a plural subject. Typical examples are:

Their works *begins* on.... 22-I

If the parents *allows*.... 23-II

They *wants* to be.... 26-II

The third person singular is formed by adding the third person singular morpheme, which has four allomorphs, / -s, -z, -ɪz, -∅/, to the base form. The distribution of the first three allomorphs is identical with that of the three regular allomorphs of the noun plural morpheme. / -s / occurs after bases ending in voiceless sounds, except sibilants, for example:

Father lets /lɛts/....23-II

That helps /hɛlps/....25-II

He thinks /θɪŋks/....26-II

/ -z / occurs after bases ending in voiced sounds, except sibilants, for example:

It tends /tɪːndz/....20-III

Who knows /noz /....30-II

/- ɪ z/ occurs after sibilants, for example:

It teaches /tičɪz /.... 22-I

It uses /juzɪz /.... 15-II

Teach is the only verb ending in a sibilant which is found in the discussions. *Uses* /juzɪz/ occurs in the free conversation.

The / - Ø / allomorph occurs with any verb, for example:

He say it meant....19-I

If everyone feel....21-II

He always lose....22-I

When a boy get....23-II

It look like....31-I

In level I discussions 75% of the third person singular forms have the / - Ø / allomorph; in level II discussions, 49%. The / - Ø / allomorph does not occur in the level III discussion.

The past tense of the majority of the verbs is formed by adding one of the regular allomorphs of the past tense morpheme, / -t, -d, - ɪd /. / -t / is added to base forms ending in a voiceless sound, except / -t /, for example:

I placed /plest /....24-II

They stopped /stapt /....25-II

I worked /wɜkt /....31-I

/ -d / is added to base forms ending in a voiced sound, except / -d /, for example:

Witches changed /čeŋǰd/....22-I

They climbed /klaɪmd /....23-II

That happened /hæpənd /....30-II

/-ɪd/ is added to base forms ending in / -t / or / -d /, for example:

He wanted /wɔntɪd/....22-I

Person committed /kəmɪtɪd /....26-II

He disregarded /dɪsrɪgɑdɪd /....28-I

A zero allomorph / - Ø / occurs after bases ending in any sound; the past tense form is identical with the base form of the verb, for example:

He imprison himself. 19-I

He wrote the story because he want to....22-I

I don't think Godfrey act too wise. 28-I

People he loved and people he trust. 30-II

This pattern occurs in six discussions. In 19-I, 16% of the past tense forms have the / -∅/ allomorph; in 22-I, 9%. It occurs once in 28-I, 29-I, 30-II and 31-I.

The past tense of a few verbs is formed by a change in the vowel of the base, in addition to adding / -t / or / -d /, for example:

brought
caught
did
fled
heard
kept
left
lost
said
taught
thought
told

The past tense of a small number of verbs is formed by adding the / -∅/ allomorph and changing the vowel of the base, for example:

ate
became
began
broke
came
fell
forgot
found
gave
got
grew
knew
met
ran
read
rode
saw
spoke
stole
stood
swore
threw
took
won
wrote

The past of one verb is formed by suppletion, went.

Become occurs in 31-I as a past tense form; knewed and knowed occur in 19-I.

The students' responses to the items in the worksheets include the past tense forms of bring, climb, come, do, eat, give, ride, take, blow, drink, drive, fit, grew and sweat. All of the students have brought as the past tense of *bring*, *climbed* as the past tense of *climb*, *came* as the past tense of *come*, *did* as the past tense of *do*, *ate* as the past tense of *eat*, *gave* as the past tense of *give*, *rode* as the past tense of *ride* and *took* as the past tense of *take*.

Student 3-II has *blowed* as the past tense of *blow*; all others have *blew*. 5-I has *drunk* as the past tense of *drink*; all others have *drank*. 5-I has *drived* as the past tense of *drive*; all others have *drove*. 9-II, 13-II, 18-II have *fit* as the past tense of *fit*; all others have *fitted*. 5-I and 14-I have *growed* as the past tense of *grow*; all others have *grew*. 14-I has *sweat* as the past tense of *sweat*; all others have *sweated*.

The majority of the verbs have past participle forms which are identical with the past tense forms, for example:

built
caught
convicted
gain
gained
killed
knocked
learned
made
married
meant
said
started
suppose
supposed
wanted

Forgot, *gave* and *took* occur as past participles; *forgot* occurs once, *gave* twice, *took* once.

A few participles are formed by adding / -n, -ən / to the base, with or without a change in the vowel in the base, for example:

done
gone
gotten
seen
torn
thrown
written
been
hidden
born

Did and *went* also occur as past participle forms. *Did* occurs once; *done* occurs twice. *Went* occurs twice; *gone* occurs five times.

The past participles of two verbs are formed by adding / -∅/ to the base: *come*, *won*. *Came* occurs once as a past participle.

The past participles of *bite*, *climb*, *drink*, *drive*, *drown*, *ride*, *take*, *tear* and *wear* occur in the interviews. All of the students have *climbed* as the past participle of *climb* and *drowned* as the past participle of *drown*.

Students 4-II, 10-I and 18-II have *bit* as the past participle of *bite*; all others have *bitten*. 16-I has *drinkt* as the past participle of *drink*; 1-II, 3-II, 13-II and 16-I have *drank*; all others have *drunk*. 14-I has *drove* as the past participle of *drive*; all others have *driven*. 4-II, 14-I and 16-I have *rode* as the past participle of *ride*; 5-I has *rid*; all others have *ridden*. 5-I and 14-I have *took* as the past participle of *take*; all others have *taken*. 3-II and 14-I have *tore* as the past participle of *tear*; all others have *torn*. 14-I has *wore* as the past participle of *wear*; all others have *worn*.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ing* / -ɪŋ / or / -ɪn / to the base form of the verb. Examples are:

> Why's they *looking*? 19-I
>
> You're *playing*.....28-I
>
> He is *rushing*....30-II

Both / -ɪŋ / and / -ɪn/ occur on all levels; / -ɪn/ is used more frequently than / -ɪŋ/. (See Consonants, Chapter II.)

The present participle ending is often pronounced / -n / when it occurs with *go*: *going* /gon /. /goɪŋ / and /goɪn/ also occur. When *to* follows *going*, the phrase is often pronounced /gonə /.

The verb *be* has more inflectional forms than any other verb. There are five present tense forms: *am*, *is*, *are*, *be* and the zero copula. *Am* usually occurs when the subject is *I*; *be* occurs in 8% of the instances in which *I* is the subject. Typical are the following:

> *I am* in the twelfth grade. 22-I
>
> I think *I am* a average student. 30-II
>
> When *I'm* out *I be* as safe as I can. 23-II

He or a singular noun occurs with *is*, *be* and the zero copula. *Is* occurs in 90%, *be* in 8% and the zero copula in 2% of the instances. Typical examples are:

> At this stage *it is* not....20-III
>
> The *trend* what they have right now *is* sufficient for me....26-II
>
> *It be* a lot of kids there my age....31-I

If *everybody* in there slow learner....25-II

Are occurs with *we*, for example:

We'*re* in high school....21-II

We'*re* on subject and verbs....24-II

We'*re* wild and unruly....26-II

Are, *be* and the zero copula occur with *you*. *Are* occurs in 8% of the instances, *be* in 66% and / - / in 25%. Typical examples are:

When you enter the story, *you are* already on the scene of the action. 22-I

I mean *you be* the smartest one in that class. 24-II

If *you* a slow learner....26-II

Are, *is*, *be* and the zero copula occur with *they* or some other plural subject. *Are* occurs in 79% of the instances, *is* in 9%, *be* in 9% and the zero copula in 2%. Examples are:

These are some of the things. 20-III

Some of the things that should be taught *is*....24-II

They be meaningful. 25-II

They glad to have this. 19-I

Be finite and the zero copula occur in level I and II discussions. They also occur in the free conversation of level I and II students. They do not occur in the materials of the level III students.

Be has two past tense forms, *was* and *were*. *Was* occurs with *I*, *he* or a singular noun, for example:

He was afraid. 30-II

The lesson was hard. 24-II

I was the bus boy. 31-I

Was and *were* occur with *you*. *Was* occurs in 50% of the instances. Examples are:

The last time *you was* in my....19-I

You were absent that day. 28-I

She'd tell you *you were* ugly. 30-II

Were and was occur with we. Was occurs in 60% of the instances. Examples are:

We were on this basis constantly. 24-II

But we was closest. 31-I

Was and were occur with they. Was occurs in 14% of the instances. Examples are:

They was still on the same thing. 25-II

They were teen-agers. 26-II

They didn't know exactly who they were. 28-I

The past participle of be is been. The present participle is being. Typical of the sentences in which they occur are the following:

If that had been....19-I

The man was being held. 20-III

Children could have been going....25-II

He had been accused....28-I

There is one instance of the present participle occurring with a zero allomorph:

They can't help be that way. 26-II

A small number of the verbs are marked by derivational affixes; these are listed below:

-ate: associate, isolate, graduate, appreciate, educate, dictate

- en: stiffen, straighten, happen, enable, encourage, enjoy, engage

- in: involve

- im: imprison, improve

-ize: recognize, realize

-ish: publish, finish

The auxiliaries or function words which occur with verbs in the discussions are:

can

could

ought (to)

should

be

do

may
might
must
will
would
get
have

The auxiliaries in the first two columns occur with the base form of the verb, for example:

He *can relax* and think....20-III

He *can do* it....27-II

He *could receive*....22-I

They *could make*....25-II

Father *may take*....23-II

You *may want*....30-II

We *might think*....19-I

They *might get*....23-II

People *must have said*....24-II

They *ought to be* glad....19-I

You *ought to be* able....25-II

You *should correct*....22-I

Literature *should be combined*....29-I

We *will have*....25-II

He *will bring*....25-II

They *would graduate*....20-III

She *would like*....19-I

I *would disagree*....23-II

Transferring *would be*....21-II

Must occurs only once in the discussions. *May* occurs in five discussions; *might*, in six; *ought (to)*, in three. None of these occurs more than four times in any discussion. *Can*, *could*, *should*, *will* and *would* occur frequently.

Forms of be, get and have occur with the past participle. Get, however, occurs very infrequently. Typical are the following:

Teachers are supposed....25-II

He was convicted....28-I

It be kind of complicated....21-II

I got knocked....31-I

He haven't left....19-I

He have gain....22-I

He had married....28-I

They had taken....29-I

Are occurs once with the past participle made:

They're made their mistake....26-II

Forms of be occur with the present participle, for example:

They was talking....19-I

They be doing....23-II

We are going....24-II

They are putting....24-II

If you be talking....25-II

He was getting....30-II

The auxiliary is omitted in twelve instances. Typical examples are:

He going....19-I

They coming....21-II

If you trying to....24-II

If you telling a story....30-II

Do is used as a function word in questions and negative statements, for example:

You don't understand....25-II

He *did not commit*....28-I

He *didn't make* it....30-II

Do occurs twice with the headword *be* in discussion 23-II:

We *do be* out....

It *don't be* enough....

Two or more of the auxiliary verbs may occur with the verb headword, for example:

He *has* always *been thought* of as....20-III

You *should have seen*....22-I

I *don't be paying* attention....[4] 23-II

There are three instances of *done* being used as an auxiliary:

They be *done cut* your head off....19-I

Everybody *done seen* you. 28-I

I *done forget*. 29-I

The usual position of the main verb in statements is after the subject.

Verb forms function as subjects, for example:

His *living* was earned by something....19-I

Transferring to another school would be best. 21-II

They function as direct objects, for example:

I would like *to graduate*. 21-II

We should have *more reading* of literature in the future. 29-I

They function as subjective complements, for example:

The next thing they want to do is *get married*. 22-I

One thing...is getting them *exposed to more things*....25-II

They function as objects of prepositions, for example:

He was accused *of taking the money*. 19-I

...throughout the stories *from beginning to ending*. 20-III

They function as modifiers of nouns, adjectives and sentences. (See Chapter VII, Modification and Coordination.)

ADJECTIVES

Most of the adjectives in the discussions occur only in the base form. Comparative and superlative forms occur sporadically. The comparative is formed by adding the inflectional suffix *-er* to the base form, the superlative by adding *-est* to the base. Typical of the forms which occur are the following:

big	bigger	biggest
close		closest
great	greater	greatest
hard	harder	
rich		richest
low	lower	
old	older/elder	
smart	smarter	smartest
young	younger	

Two adjectives with suppletive forms also occur:

good	better	best
bad		worst

Polysyllabic adjectives do not follow the pattern of adding *-er*, *-est* to the base form. *More* and *most* are used with these to form a phrase which is equivalent in function to the forms with suffixes, for example:

more careful

more cultural things

more reckless

most important

There is one instance in which both *more* and an inflectional suffix are used to form the comparative: *a more higher* job.

Many of the adjectives are marked by derivational suffixes. The most often used suffix is -al, as in financial, normal, moral. Among others used are:

-able: (-ible): possible, irresponsible, responsible

- ant: important

- ar: similar, particular, familiar

- ary: primary, preliminary, literary, elementary

- en: linen

- ent: excellent, different, indifferent, sufficient

- ful: thankful, beautiful, careful, meaningful, wonderful

- ic: electric, scholastic

- ish: English

- ive: captive, defensive, distributive

-less: reckless, restless

- ly: worldly

- ous: famous, anxious, serious, victorious, jealous

- y: guilty, ready, funny, empty, happy, easy, unruly

Adjectives function as modifiers of nouns; their position is usually before the noun head, for example:

famous plays 19-I

a perfect murder 20-III

the full opinion 21-II

open arms 22-I

They also function as subjective complements; their position is usually after the verb, for example:

He was sick. 19-I

She be kind of scared. 23-II

...that seems bright. 25-II

They get mad. 25-II

ADVERBS

A few adverbs have comparative forms. These are formed by adding -er to the base form, for example; longer, later, sooner. The suppletive form better also occurs. Typical examples are:

Later on they said that....19-I

There no longer will be a Manassas. 20-III

He will help them to put themselves in the story better. 20-III

You'll get caught sooner or later. 30-II

Most adverbs, however, have no inflected forms. They fall into two groups, those which have the derivational ending -ly and those which do not. Typical of those in the -ly group are the following:

accidentally
actually
basically
completely
directly
eventually
exactly
foolishly
hardly
likely
mainly
mostly
probably
really
usually

Adverbs which do not have the -ly suffix fall into several groups: (1) those which have the prefix a-, for example:

about
along
around
away

(2) those with the suffix -wise, for example: otherwise, competitionwise; (3) those formed by adding some, any, every and no to more, how, way, where and place, for example:

anyhow
anymore
anyway
sometimes
somewhere
everyplace

noway: They can't do nothing with him *noway*. 19-I

(4) those that end in *-ward*, for example: *forward* and *afterward*; (5) those that are *identical* with prepositions, for example:

off	...cut his head *off*. 19-I
behind	...keeping them *behind*. 25-II
over	...teach the same thing *over*. 25-II
in	...the first thing that we were *in*....20-III
down	...things started slowing *down*. 31-I

Many of the adverbs used in the discussions cannot be put into groups such as the above. Typical of these are the following:

also
too
then
maybe
always
ever
yet
early
good
just
already
first
right
still
there
once
almost
wrong
all
often
now
far
enough
only
close
so
back
near
perhaps

Adverbs function as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, nouns and sentences. (See Chapter VII.) They occur in several positions in the sentence.

They occur immediately after the verb:

Statistics are based *only* on the amount of girls driving. 23-II

...they probably can do *better* at night school....26-II

They had these people to tell what they had done *wrong*....27-I

They occur before the verb:

He actually lost all respect for her. 20-III

I also believe that young people should....24-II

Then their neighbors probably would complain....26-II

They occur between the auxiliary and the verb:

He was probably trying to gain wealth. 19-I

...someone else can be easily influenced by this person. 25-II

...one who would willingly accept suggestions from other people. 30-II

They occur at the beginning of the sentence:

Eventually, he lost this in his hard trying. 22-I

Now we're gonna talk about....25-II

Later in life you may want it. 30-II

They occur at the end of the sentence:

She was a writer too. 19-I

It is not completed yet. 20-III

Most of us throw it away foolishly. 27-II

CHAPTER V

FUNCTION WORDS

The four parts of speech, the noun, the verb, the adjective and the adverb have been described in the preceding chapter. These account for the majority of words in the discussions. The words which do not belong to these four classes are function words and are described here.

The function words in the materials may be divided into several groups; some pattern with the parts of speech; some perform other functions in the sentence.

DETERMINERS

The determiners pattern with nouns. The most commonly used determiners, by far, found in the materials are the and a/an. Others frequently used are:

all
both
enough
every
few
her
his
many
more
my
no
one
other
our
some
that
their
these
this
those
your

A number of these words are pronouns, but they are classed as determiners when they occur with nouns. Possessive nouns also function as determiners.

Typical use of determiners is seen in the following phrases:

A very good ending 20-III

This new school 21-II

The world 22-I

A office 23-II

Their senior year 24-II

All the other children 30-II

Caesar's wife 19-I

A occurs in all environments. An occurs only before words beginning with vowels. In 58% of the instances where an could occur, a occurs. The has two forms, /ði ,ðə /. /ði / usually occurs before words beginning with vowels, /ðə / before those beginning with consonants. There are two instances of /ðə / occurring before words beginning with vowels:

The /ðə / army 20-III

The /ðə / other 25-II

AUXILIARIES

The auxiliaries pattern with verbs. These include be, do, have and the modal auxiliaries. Because some of the auxiliaries are also full verbs, they have been described in Chapter III.

QUALIFIERS

The qualifiers pattern with adjectives and adverbs. The most frequently used are very, so, more, kind of, pronounced most frequently /kaɪndə/, and sort of /sɔtə /. Others used are:

about

a great

a little

even

less

most

pretty

quite

quite a few

real

that

too

Typical use of these is seen in the following:

It's too late. 20-III

The rest of them are kind of lazy. 24-II

He ain't going to do nothing but take a trip over to Europe about two years and slide back to Memphis. 19-I

PREPOSITIONS

The prepositions are followed by nouns, many of which are preceded by determiners. The unit formed by the preposition and noun functions as a modifier. The most frequently used single prepositions are listed below:

about
across
after
among
around
as
at
before
behind
between
but
by
during
except
for
from
in
near
of
off
to
toward

Compound and phrasal prepositions occur also; the ones most used by the students are:

according to
apart from
because of
down from
except for
in favor of
in front of
inside of
instead of
into
off of
out of
throughout
within
without

The following examples illustrate the use of prepositions:

She dreamed about him. 19-I

I would like for them to make new rules for our cafeteria. 27-II

The trouble was within the man himself. 20-III

Students should be grouped according to their abilities. 25-II

CONJUNCTIONS

The conjunctions are used to join coordinate elements; their position is between the groups they join. *And* is the most frequently used conjunction; others used are *but*, *or*, *yet*. *Yet* occurs only once. Infrequently conjunctions are joined with another word to form phrases, for example, *and see*, *and so*, *and then*, and *then again*. The following illustrate the use of conjunctions:

> They think *or* feel that they are not as good as the next person. 25-II
>
> ...someone that can get his lesson, go to dances and have fun, know the students *and* do what they do, *yet* he can stay above the rest of them. 30-II
>
> They was taking turns staying with this preacher, *and so* this night of all nights was Silas Marner's night....19-I

SENTENCE CONNECTORS

Three sentence connectors are found in the materials: *therefore*, *furthermore* and *also*; none of them, however, occurs frequently. They occur between the two units they connect or within the second of the units. *Furthermore* occurs with the coordinator *and*. Typical examples are:

> She said she'd like to go to the theater and to the museum; she *also* said that she'd like to go down town....19-I
>
> It is not completed yet; *therefore* we will have to finish here at Manassas next year. 20-III
>
> You have to have a lot of kids to back you up, *and furthermore*, I think I have the ability to lead....30-II

INITIATORS

A few words, occurring at the beginning of sentences, function as initiators. The most often used are *well*, *you see*, *and then*. Their use is seen in the following:

> *Well*, he go easier with these. 23-II
>
> *You see*, they think or feel that they are not as good. 25-I
>
> *And then*, afterwards we went to the Airport and to the Dobbs House. 31-I

STABILIZERS AND FILLERS[1]

Stabilizers, which are a type of hesitation, occur frequently in all of the discussions. Some of these are words and phrases, such as *well*, *you know*, *I mean*, *let me see*. Others, such as *um*, *er*, *a-uh*, cannot be considered words. Fillers, the repetitions and half begun words, are found in all of the discussions. These features are seen in the following:

> *Ah* he was *a, he was a*, a author who *ah ah* took *ah* sight for granted when he lost hisn, but *uh*, took him seven years to write this here, but he didn't have enough time. He'd tell *ah* about the things, *you know*, *uh* everyday people, no, normal people ought to be thankful for, *you know*, when they haven't got their sight. 19-I

> The sophomores of next year *ah well* I believe *well* this is the question, "Will we move over?" We will not be able to move over if the school is not completed. True, which at this stage it is not. Well *uh* it's halfway through. It is not *com*, completed; therefore, we will have to finish here at Manassas. 20-III

> I think he's right to a certain extent because the student body, *because the student body* itself could fill the auditorium and then not leave any room for the parents, but I think he should *ah* enable us to go, *you know*, if our parents aren't going to be able to come and we have the invitations. 24-II

CHAPTER VI

SENTENCE PATTERNS

The most often used sentence pattern in the discussions is that of subject + verb, found in statements and negative sentences. Questions and request sentences pattern differently.

The statements, which far outnumber all other types of sentences,[1] fall into ten patterns. The verb be occurs in four of these. Because be is somewhat different from other verbs, patterns in which it occurs are described separately; these follow the patterns in which other verbs occur:

PATTERN I

Subject + Verb

This pattern occurs in all of the discussions. The verb may be followed by an adverbial element. The following examples are typical:

I guess. 19-I

Some students don't try. 23-II

I started out about last year. 28-I

I mingle well with other people. 30-II

PATTERN II

Subject + Verb + Direct Object

This pattern occurs in all of the discussions. The following sentences are typical:

He had these fits. 20-III

We elect student council representatives. 27-II

I enjoyed English very much this year. 29-I

He really wanted Eppie then. 30-II

I had a chance to go to Columbia, Michigan. 31-I

PATTERN III

Subject + Verb + Indirect Object + Direct Object

This pattern occurs sporadically in most of the discussions. Typical examples are:

> This will give the reader a chance to catch his breath. 20-III
>
> That will give us a great setback. 21-II
>
> He sent his wife a letter. 22-I
>
> The Carver football team will give the other schools more competition. 28-I
>
> I told her it was real nice and everything. 31-I

PATTERN IV

Subject + Verb + Direct Object + Objective Complement

This pattern occurs in only one discussion.

> The author called this particular story Vanity Fair. 22-I
>
> Her love for him made her strong. 22-I

PATTERN V

Subject + Verb + Subjective Complement

This pattern occurs sporadically in less than one-third of the discussions. Both nouns and adjectives occur as complements, for example:

> Silas Marner, after he came to Raveloe, he became a linen maker. 19-I
>
> He became the leader. 29-I
>
> She became very happy. 22-I
>
> They got mad. 25-II

PATTERN VI

In all of the discussions one or two statements without subjects occur. In most instances the context is such that the meaning is clear. The following are typical:

> Also when he starts out in the first person, gives you the sense that it's sort of like....20-III

Suppose to get my license this summer. 23-II

Seem like his father should have gave it to him. 30-II

There are four patterns in which the verb be occurs.

PATTERN VII

Subject + Be + Adverbial Element

This pattern occurs in the discussions on all levels. The following examples are typical:

We're in high school now. 21-II

It was in the non-fiction section. 23-II

I'm in 11-6 homeroom. 29-I

PATTERN VIII

Subject + Be + Subjective Complement

This pattern is found in all of the discussions. Nouns and adjectives may occur as subjective complements; adjectives occur more frequently. Typical are the following:

He was quiet. 19-I

He was a romanticist. 20-III

This is Manassas High School. 21-II

She be kind of scared.[2] 23-II

Others are old foggies. 27-II

Grammar is more important. 29-I

Be finite[3] occurs only in the present tense. (See Verbs, Chapter IV.)

PATTERN IX

Expletive + Be + Subject

In this pattern the expletive it or there occupies the subject position. The there + be + subject pattern occurs in two-thirds of the discussions. The following examples are typical:

There were certain people who said....20-III

There are not that many girls driving. 23-II

There's a possible chance. 26-II

There was a leader....29-I

There's a few "buts" in it. 30-II

The it + be + subject pattern occurs sporadically in approximately one-fourth of the discussions. Typical examples are:

It was mental torture. 20-III

It was the age of culture. 22-I

It's not a time for play. 30-II

A sub-pattern with it occurs sporadically in most of the discussions in which the there pattern occurs. This it is used where there might be expected to occur, for example:

It's no doubt. 20-III

It was so many numbers. 23-II

It's a lot of essays and things. 25-II

It be a lot of kids there my age. 31-I

It was a few sophomores there. 31-I

The sub-pattern occurs also in the free conversation in the interviews. All of the students who use it also use the there pattern. The sub-pattern occurs more often than the there pattern in the conversation of students 4-I and 16-I. It does not occur in the conversation of level III students.

PATTERN X

Subject + Ø Copula + Subjective Complement or Adverbial Element[4]

The zero copula occurs wherever the present tense forms am, is, are, or be may occur. This pattern does not occur as frequently as patterns VI and VII. It does not occur in the level III discussions. Typical are the following:

They glad to have him. 19-I

His father out of town. 23-II

You the onliest somebody in that class. 24-II

Another reason because his girl friend was going
to get married. 30-II

This pattern occurs in the free conversation of the interviews. It occurs fairly frequently in the conversation of level I students, less frequently in that of level II students. It does not occur in that of level III students. The students who use this pattern also use the other patterns in which be occurs. The following examples from the free conversation of student 14-I illustrate this:

Social Studies is my major.

He's a carpenter.

It's not required.

It's always crowded.

It's for the kids mostly.

They be minor sports.

It always be crowded.

It be mostly dancing.

He a truck driver.

She just a housewife.[5]

NEGATIVES

Negative sentences occur in all of the discussions.

Negation is most often signalled by the function word not, pronounced /nat, nt, n/. Not comes between the auxiliary and the verb, when the verb in the statement is one other than be, for example:

He haven't left. 19-I

I don't think students should be grouped. 25-II

If he doesn't have any ambition....26-II

We wasn't winning first place. 31-I

When be is the verb, not comes after it, for example:

He wasn't like that. 19-I

The younger children that are*n't* already here....27-II

I'm *not* clumsy. 29-I

I'm *not* well known. 30-II

Never is also used to express negation. If there is no auxiliary, its position is before the verb; if there is one, it comes between the auxiliary and the verb, for example:

He *never* came out without his dogs. 29-I

The second semester will *never* git started. 21-II

Satan is in hell and he falls and falls, but he *never* quit falling. 22-I

You'll *never* learn anything. 25-II

The negative words, *hardly*, *nobody*, *nothing*, *no* occur sporadically. *Hardly* and *nobody* occur *only with other negatives*. *Nothing* and *no* occur *both with and without* them. Typical examples are:

You wouldn't *hardly* catch any girls in drag races. 26-II

Didn't *nobody* know anything about it. 19-I

You have *nothing* that builds directly up into the story. 20-III

You have *no* plot....20-III

So it wouldn't be *no* competition. 24-II

QUESTIONS

Questions, which occur in nine of the discussions, are signalled in three ways, by reversal of the statement pattern of subject + verb, by interrogators, or by rising intonation.

When the verb is *be*, there is a reversal of subject and verb, as in the following:

Are there any questions? 19-I

Was there a common ending to the story? 20-III

Is that all? 29-I

When there is an auxiliary, it precedes the subject, the verb follows it. If there are two or more auxiliaries, the subject comes after the first one, for example:

Would you come up? 28-I

Will we have any newcomers on the team? 28-I

Should students be grouped according to their abilities? 24-II

When there is no other auxiliary and the verb is one other than be, some form of do is used to achieve the reversal, for example:

Did the stories have a similar ending? 20-III

Do you suppose the school will try to give you
all any competition? 28-I

Do you like football? 28-I

There is one instance in which an auxiliary is not used:

You want to say something?[6] 19-I

A number of the questions begin with one of the interrogators how, why, what, who. How and why function only as interrogators, and the subject and verb are reversed. What and who, in addition to signalling that a sentence is a question, function as subjects, direct objects or complements within it. When they function as subjects, the pattern is subject + verb. When they function as objects, the subject and verb are reversed. The following are illustrative:

How did he end it? 20-III

How do you think Carver football team'll be rated
next year? 28-I

Why's they looking at him like that? 19-I

What is your opinion? 24-II

Ivory, what do you think about that? 25-II

Who going to be the leader in the class? 25-II

In one question the pattern of subject + verb is used; the intonation pattern is 2 - 3↗.

That would benefit the student more? 24-II

A few questions have no verbs. These consist of one, two or three words which have a rising intonation pattern, for example:

Why? 3↗ 19-I

Grambling College? 2-3↗ 23-II

Our victorious team? 2-3↗ 31-I

REQUESTS

There are ten request sentences in the discussions. In all of these the base form of the verb is followed by a modifier or a complement. There is no subject. The following are illustrative:

Ask your question again. 22-I

Let me answer that. 24-II

Let them go on. 25-II

Wait a minute. 31-I

CHAPTER VII

MODIFICATION AND COORDINATION

Two of the syntactic relationships into which the words, phrases and clauses in the sentences enter are modification and coordination.

MODIFICATION

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, function words and sentences occur as heads modified by other structures.

NOUNS AS HEADWORDS

Nouns occur as headwords modified by determiners, adjectives, nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositional phrases and relative clauses. Modifiers occur both before the noun and after it.

The most common modifier of the noun is the determiner. Its position is before the noun, for example:

Most of the children....20-III

...well as a secretary in a office....23-II

What is your opinion? 24-II

...being persuaded by his friends....26-II

That's what we need in a president....30-II

The adjective is the next most frequent modifier of the noun. Its position in the noun phrase is after the determiner, if there is one, and before the noun head. Examples of this structure are the following:

He was quiet and had queer eyes....19-I

That's one of the main contrasts....20-III

...the purpose of oral discussion is to improve speech habits....24-II

Some students are harder to learn a certain thing....26-II

Approximately 26% of the nouns occur with one adjective modifier. When two adjectives occur, they are usually connected by and, for example:

> The man was subjected to physical and mental torture....20-III
>
> ...how to speak the correct and proper English....24-II
>
> We...have one of the best and bigger cafeterias....27-II

No nouns occur with three adjective modifiers.

There are three noun modifiers of nouns, the noun adjunct, the possessive form of the noun and the appositive.

The noun adjunct comes before the noun, for example:

> ...if they change it over during the half semester period. 20-III
>
> ...they will also have a cosmetology department....21-II
>
> ...that our student body should exercise. 27-II
>
> Since you a basketball player....28-I

The possessive form of the noun precedes the noun, for example:

> ...Brutus sent Decius to Caesar house....19-I
>
> ...had written the women part so well....19-I
>
> ...to note that most of Poe's stories....20-III
>
> ...he should know all the driver's rules....23-II
>
> ...grown-ups' accusations are incorrect....26-II

Appositives follow the noun head. They occur sporadically in approximately one-half of the discussions. Typical examples are:

> ...his friend William was the one to come in....19-I
>
> ...so she had a friend Amelia....22-I
>
> ...when they found his dead wife Molly....28-I
>
> I just want to say something about Godfrey's wife Nancy. 30-II

Three forms of the verb modify the noun, the present participle, the past participle and the infinitive. The present participle and infinitive occur rather frequently, the past participle less frequently. The present and past participles come before the noun head, for example:

> ...played the leading part....22-I
>
> ...have a pleasing personality....30-II
>
> ...she was just a determine person....22-I
>
> ...he saw different, him and his adopted child. 30-II

When the participle is part of a phrase, it follows the noun head, for example:

> He supposed to have got engaged to this lady name Sarah. 19-I
>
> They were just three old women saying something. 22-I
>
> The majority of teen-agers driving cars nowadays are boys. 23-II
>
> I went with a boy named Jerry....31-I

Infinitives follow the noun head, for example:

> The one to come....19-I
>
> Have time to rest....23-II
>
> The time to throw away....27-II
>
> The ability to read....30-II

Adverbs follow the noun head. They occur in eight of the discussions, but no more than three occur in any discussion, and in several instances, the same adverb occurs twice. Typical examples are:

> If they start the year after....20-III
>
> That we had about a month ago....28-I

Prepositional phrases come after the noun head; they occur frequently in all of the discussions. The following are typical:

> The class as a whole....20-III
>
> The current problems of a high school....24-II

The children with the low averages....25-II

The adults of their day....26-II

Ninth grade at Porter....31-I

Relative clauses follow the noun; they are connected to the head by that, which, who or whom. Typical examples are:

So then the person that didn't know it, he just sit down. 25-II

The suspense which his short stories are filled with....20-III

The poet laureate is a person who is honored with a award. 22-II

Some of the people whom he was caught by....20-III

A few clauses, however, do not occur immediately after the noun head, for example:

The first man died who had the linen factory. 19-I

VERBS AS HEADWORDS

Verbs occur as headwords modified by adverbs, adverbial nouns, prepositional phrases, and clauses.

Adverbs occur before the verb head, after it, or between the auxiliary if there is one, and the verb head, for example:

She always praised her sister. 20-III

You are already on the scene of the action. 20-III

He should be one who would willingly accept suggestions. 30-II

Adverbial nouns come after the verb head.

It wouldn't last a day. 19-I

We got there Friday morning. 22-I

I would like to talk about the trip we made Thursday night. 22-I

I got home about two. 31-I

Prepositional phrases come after the verb head, for example:

She said on the witness stand that he had told her. 19-I

All of them are against being transferred. 21-II

She was put into an orphan home. 22-I

Should students be grouped according to their abilities? 25-II

Clauses come after the verb head, for example:

It happened when he was staying up with this elder man. 19-I

Mr. Jones would feed them when he got ready. 29-I

He left because he was accused of taking money. 30-II

ADJECTIVES AS HEADWORDS

The most frequent adjective modifiers are adverbs and qualifiers, for example:

I was scheduled to go to Southside High, which this year is a completely white school. 20-III

They ought not to have the real smart ones and the real dumb ones taking things together. 25-II

A very few adjectives are modified by prepositional phrases:

It was difficult for them to see each other. 22-I

That's what's wrong with people. 25-II

Someone that can be better than average. 30-II

A few are modified by infinitives, for example:

Boys they be anxious to drive. 23-II

I'm hard to catch on. 25-II

ADVERBS AS HEADWORDS

Adverbs are modified by qualifiers, for example:

He did act sort of queer. 19-I

I don't think it changed him *too* much. 25-II

They...explain the session *real* well. 25-II

SENTENCES AS HEADS

Sentences are modified by adverbs, verbs, prepositional phrases and clauses. These usually occur at the beginning of the sentence; a few occur at the end.

Adverbs occur frequently as sentence modifiers. Typical are the following:

> *Eventually* he lost this in his hard trying. 22-I
>
> *Quite naturally* he's going to want to show off and everything. 23-II

Verbs occur sporadically. The following are typical:

> That's what the teacher's here for, *to explain things to you*. 25-II
>
> He went his way, *knowing that he didn't take the money*. 30-II

Prepositional phrases and clauses occur frequently. The following are typical:

> *By mistake* he accidentally kilt him. 19-I
>
> *During the marching*, we marched about two miles up a road. 22-I
>
> *Although once in a while he might do wrong*, he didn't want this to be known. 30-II
>
> Maybe you ought to be in a special class, *if you're* that dumb. 25-II

There is one instance in which a sentence modifier appears to modify a structure introduced by a subordinator:

> Though I think it's necessary for we as the students to go twelve months a year cause I think that we need it, though I wouldn't want to go twelve months. 23-II

COORDINATION

Structures of coordination occur in all of the discussions. The units in a structure, which are usually syntactically equivalent, may be nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, function words, phrases or clauses.

STRUCTURES WITH NOUNS, VERBS, ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS AND FUNCTION WORDS

All of the parts of speech enter into structures of coordination, nouns and verbs fairly frequently, adjectives and adverbs sporadically.

Typical of the coordinate structures in which nouns occur are the following:

> What was it, the money, wisdom or wealth? 19-I
>
> ...the man or person who was subjected to mental torture was rescued by the army. 20-III
>
> The actors and actresses were superb. 22-II
>
> ...like major subjects, for instance, English, American History and Math. 24-II
>
> ...to learn how to play archery, tennis and paddle tennis. 31-I

Typical of the structures in which verbs occur are the following:

> They didn't know nothing else to do but look at him and think like that. 19-I
>
> Most boys drink and drive, too. 23-II
>
> I don't think you should stop and shirk. 24-II
>
> They should look back and remember....26-II
>
> I would have fun meeting and swimming and playing and all that. 31-I

Typical of the structures in which adjectives and adverbs occur are the following:

> The man was both subjected to physical and mental torture. 20-III
>
> She was pale and weak. 22-II
>
> I got among the "A" and "B" students. 24-II
>
> They just got disappointed and discouraged. 25-II
>
> You'll get caught sooner or later. 31-I

Function words also occur in structures of coordination. Typical examples are:

He grew *less* and *less* fond of money. 19-I

...about *three* or *four* days. 24-II

It made me want to study *more* and *more*. 24-II

This student is able to get *his* or *her*
lesson. 25-II

STRUCTURES WITH PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

Prepositional phrases occur sporadically in coordinate structures; the following are illustrative:

She'd like to go *to the theater* and *to the museum*. 19-I

We went *to the Airport* and *to the Dobbs House*. 31-I

Both subordinate and coordinate clauses occur in structures of coordination; coordinate clauses occur far more frequently than subordinate clauses. The following are typical:

They should prepare and know exactly *what they supposed to teach* and *what the children supposed to know*. 25-II

If they said they were against him or *if they disagreed with a policy which he produced*....30-II

The teacher didn't know *if they were sophomores* or *what they were*. 31-I

Now we have the time to throw away, and *most of us throw it away foolishly*. 27-II

Did anyone enjoy that show, or *did anyone see it*? 28-I

In some instances several structures in a sentence are joined by *and*, for example:

The adults of their day said that they were wild *and* unruly *and* a restless bunch *and* so today here they are, adults, *and* then they're saying that we're wild *and* unruly *and* then tomorrow when we're adults, we will say the same thing about the next group. So it just goes around in circles. 26-II

In each of the discussions there are a few sentences, never more than three, often only one, in which the units in the structure of coordination are not syntactically equivalent, for example:

> Though I said I didn't like school, but I would like to go to college so that I could take elementary education. 23-II

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The primary intent of this study has been to describe the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis, Tennessee; this has been done in the preceding chapters. No conclusions in the usual sense are necessary. There may be some value in comparing the structure of the speech of the students with the structure of other varieties of English, particularly the variety spoken in the area in which they live. Such a comparison is made in this chapter.

There is no one standard speech in the United States. Hans Kurath has shown in A Word Geography of the Eastern United States that there are three principal speech areas along the Atlantic coast: Northern, Midland and Southern.[1] The standard speech of one area is considered as acceptable as that of either of the others.[2] Studies based on the records of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada provide considerable information on the speech, particularly the pronunciation, of three types of speakers within these areas: type I, those with little formal education; type II, those with a better formal education, usually high school; type III, those usually with a college education, often classed as cultured.

Memphis is not a part of the area included in the Atlas surveys; Claude M. Wise in Applied Phonetics[3] postulates, however, on the basis of settlement patterns that the boundary between the Midland and Southern areas runs northward through central Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River. This places Memphis within the Southern area, but not too far from its northern boundary. The speech of Memphis can be expected to be Southern with some Midland features.

No grammar of Southern speech is available. Studies based on the Atlas materials, however, provide information on selected grammatical features of each of the areas. Among these are E. Bagby Atwood's A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States[4] and Raven McDavid's "American Dialects."[5] It is generally assumed that the grammar of standard English is essentially the same in all speech areas. C. C. Fries's The Structure of English[6] and W. Nelson Francis' The Structure of American English[7] are excellent sources of information on the standard language.

PHONOLOGY

In the description of the sound system of the students' speech, the phonemic system, the realization of the phonemes and the incidence of the phonemes have been dealt with. Each of these is treated here.

THE PHONEMES

The phonemic system of the speech of the students, described in chapter two, is that which is found in the Southern area. Kurath and McDavid in The Pronunciation of English in The Atlantic States[8] state that the following vowels are found in the upper and lower South:

i u
ɪ ʊ
e ɜ ɚ ʌ o
ɛ ɔ
æ ɑ ɒ
aɪ aʊ ɔɪ

This system differs from that of most areas chiefly in having four low vowels where other areas have three. The vowel / ɒ / occurs only in those areas where preconsonantal and final / r / is not preserved as such.

In the speech of the students /ɪ, u, e, o, ə / occur in weakly stressed syllables. These also occur in weakly stressed syllables in the speech of the Southern area.[9]

The consonant system of the speech of the students is that found in the upper and lower South. This differs from that found in other varieties of English in having /ə̯ /, which usually replaces preconsonantal and final / r /.[10]

Only a few comments were made about the suprasegmental phonemes of the speech of the students. These do not provide sufficient material for a comparison to be made.

THE REALIZATION OF THE PHONEMES

In the speech of the students / i / occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong [ɪi, ɪ˄i]. In much of the Southern area / i / occurs as an upgliding diphthong, ranging from [ɪi] to [ij].[11]

In the speech of the students /ɪ / occurs both as a monophthong and as a diphthong [ɪ, ɪᵊ, ᵻᵊ]. In large parts of the Southern speech area / i / occurs as [ᵻᵊ or ɪᵊ].[12]

In the speech of the students / e / occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong [eɪ, e˅ᵻ]. Upgliding diphthongs [eᵻ], [ɛᵻ] occur in most of the Eastern section of the country. [eᵊ] occurs in some sections of the Southern area.[13]

In the speech of the students / ɛ / occurs both as a monophthong and as a diphthong [ɛ, ɛᵻ, ɛᵊ]. A few students have [ɛᵻ] in egg; all have [ɛᵊ] in shell. In the Southern speech area [ɛᵻ] occurs frequently in egg.[14]

Shell is not included in Kurath and McDavid's study. Wise indicates that in American speech a vowel before a[ɫ] may be diphthongized.[15]

In the speech of the students /æ / occurs both as a monophthong and as a diphthong[æ, æᵋ, æᶜ]. The diphthongs occur most frequently in such words as ask, bag, sack. In parts of the Southern area /æ / occurs as [æᵻ, æᵋ] in sack and bag.[16] Wise indicates that[æᴵ]occurs before alveolar consonants in Southern substandard speech.[17]

In the speech of the students / u / occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong[ʊu]. After / d, t, š, č, ǰ /[u˂ u˂]frequently occurs. In large parts of the Southern speech area / u / occurs as[ʉ·],[ʉʉ].[18]

In the speech of the students /ʊ / occurs both as a monophthong and as a diphthong[ʊ, ʊᵻ, ʊᵊ].[ʊᵻ] occurs in push,[ʊᵊ]in pull. In the Southern area[ʊᵊ] and[ʉᵊ] are widespread. In push[ʊᴵ]and[ʊᵻ] occur in several of the Atlantic states, including Virignia and South Carolina.[19]

In the speech of the students / o / occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong[oʊ]. In much of the Southern area, as in the greater part of the Eastern states, / o / occurs as[ɔʊ, oᵘ].[20]

In the speech of the students /ɔ / occurs as both a monophthong and an upgliding diphthong[ɔ, ɔᵒ, ɔᵘ].[ɔᵒ, ɔᵘ] occur in such words as fog, log, trough, frost. The Atlas materials indicate that an upgliding diphthong[ɒɔ]appears in dog.[21] Wise states that[ɔo, oʊ]occur in log, cough, coffee.[22]

In the speech of the students /ɜ / occurs most frequently as an upgliding diphthong[ɜᵊ̂, ɜᵻ]. Before / r /[ɜ]occurs sporadically. /ɜ / occurs as[ɜ, ɞ·, ɜᵻ, ɞᵻ]in girl in Eastern Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia.[23] Wise states that /ɜ / is diphthongized to[ɜɪ]in the Southern area in such words as heard, bird, worth. He considers this substandard.[24]

In the speech of the students /ʌ / occurs most frequently as a monophthong[ʌ, ʌ˂]. Before / š, ǰ / as in brush and judge, it usually occurs as[ʌᵻ]. In the Southern area upgliding allophones[ʌᵻ, ɤᵻ, ɜᵻ]appear in these words "in folk speech."[25]

In the speech of the students /ɑ / occurs as both a monophthong and a diphthong[ɑ, ɑᵅ̂]. The diphthongal allophone of /ɑ / is not found in Kurath and McDavid's materials. Bronstein points out that the diphthong [aᵊ] is likely to occur in the Southern area.[26]

In the students' speech /ɑ˞ / occurs most frequently as[ɑ˃·, ɑ˃ᵅ̂]. Kurath and McDavid state that /ɑ˞/ occurs as [ɑ·, ɑ˃·]in those Southern areas where postvocalic / r / is not preserved.[27]

In the speech of the students /ɑɪ/ occurs as a diphthong and as a monophthong[ɑᵆ, ɑᵋ, ɑᴵ, ɑ, ɑ˃]. Kurath and McDavid state that diphthongs with short upglides[ɑ.ᵋ, ɑᵋ, ɑ˞ᵋ], occur in much of the Southern area.[28] Wise states that /ɑɪ/ occurs as[ɑ] in Southern substandard speech.[29]

An article entitled a "Dictionary For Newcomers," which appeared in The Commercial Appeal (Memphis),[30] indicates that such pronunciations as tod for tired, ha for hi are used by businessmen, clerks and housewives in Memphis.

In the speech of the students /ɑʊ/ occurs as [ɑʊ, a̜·ʊ, a·ʊ]. In the Southern area [ɑ·ʊ, aʊ, æ·ʊ, æʊ̯] occur.[31]

In the speech of the students /ɔɪ/ occurs most frequently as a diphthong [ɔɪ]. Before / l / in oil, boil, [ɔᶤ] or [ɔᵊ] almost always occurs. Kurath and McDavid state that [ɔɪ, ɔᵊ, ɔ·ɛ, ɔɨ] occur in the Southern area.[32] Wise says that in substandard Southern speech /ɔɪ/ becomes [ɔ] before / l /.[33]

In the speech of the students /ə / occurs as [ə].

The consonants used by the students do not have striking allophones. Generally the allophones of the consonants are those which are found in standard English. All of the stops have aspirated and unaspirated allophones, as do the stops in standard English. / l / has, however, an allophone [l̬] which is not found in standard English.[34] Wise states that this allophone occurs in substandard Southern speech in such words as milk.[35] Thomas states that this sound "thought to be characteristic of the southern states, and specifically of Texas, is probably more widespread than many think...."[36]

THE INCIDENCE OF THE PHONEMES

In the students' speech /ɪ~ɛ/ before / n / in fence, ten. Most of the level I and II students have /ɪ/; level III students have /ɛ/. Kurath and McDavid show that in the Southern area /ɛ/ is often raised in these words; some speakers have /ɪ/.[37]

In the speech of the students /æ/ occurs in such words as ask, calf, laughing, answer and can't. / e / sometimes occurs in can't. /ɑ/ occurs in aunt. In the Southern area /æ/ usually occurs in these words.

In the speech of the students /ʊ~u/ in such words as hoof, hoop, room, roof, soot, coop, Cooper. /ʊ/ usually occurs in hoof, hoop, roof and soot. / u / usually occurs in coop, Cooper, room. In the Southern area /ʊ~u/ in these words. In soot /ʊ/ occurs in cultivated speech; /ʌ / also occurs. /ʊ/ usually occurs in hoof, coop, Cooper; / u / usually occurs in room, root.[39]

In the speech of the students /ɔ~ɑ/ in such words as in pot, rock, frost, loft, cost, moth, office, closet, strong, vomit, college, fog, dog, born, corn, horse, morning, storm, orphan, tomorrow, borrow. /ɔ/ usually occurs in loft, cost, frost, office, moth, strong, fog, foggy, born, corn, horse, morning. /ɑ/ usually occurs in pot, rock, closet, vomit, college, borrow. This occurrence of /ɔ/ or /ɑ/ in these words is found in large sections of the Southern area.[40]

In the students' speech /ɔ~ɑ/ in such words as *fought*, *taught*, *daughter*; / ɔ / occurs more frequently than / ɑ /. In the Southern area / ɔ / occurs more frequently than / ɑ / in these words.[41]

In the students' speech / ɑ / occurs in *wash*, *watch*. Kurath says that in *wash* / ɑ / is "characteristic of the South."[42]

In the students' speech / ɪ / occurs in the weakly stressed syllables in *basket*, *dishes*, *haunted*. This is characteristic of the Southern area.[43]

In the students' speech /o~ə/ in the final syllables of *borrow*, *tomorrow*, *wheelbarrow*, / o / usually occurs. /o~ə/ in the Southern area, but / o / "is rare, even among the cultured."[44]

In the students' speech / hw / usually occurs in *wheelbarrow*. Kurath and McDavid show that / hw / is found in this word in the "greater part of the Eastern States."[45]

In the students' speech /d~f~θ/ in *with*. Level I and II students have / d / and / f /; level III, / θ /. In *this*, *that*, *the*, /ð~d /. Level I students have / d / more frequently, level II, / ð / more frequently. Level III have / ð /. Wise states that in *this*, *that*, *with*, / d / occurs in the substandard speech found in urban areas in all sections of the country.[46]

Final / n / sometimes does not occur in the speech of level I students. Sargent shows that in the Smoky Mountain region / n / is frequently lost in *bundle* and in *on* in such phrases as *on Christmas* and *on Sunday*.[47]

In the speech of the students the following vowels occur before / ə̯ / and final and preconsonantal / r /: /ɪ~ɛ, e, ɛ, u, o, ɔ, ɑ, əɪ /. Kurath and McDavid show that these vowels occur before / ə̯ / and / r / in Southern speech.[48]

In the students' speech /ɪ~ɛ, æ, u, o, ɔ, ɑ, əɪ, əʊ/ occur before intervocalic / r /. These also occur before intervocalic / r / in the Southern area. Intervocalic / r / is occasionally lost in the speech of level I and II students in *parents*, *merry*. Thomas and Wise state that intervocalic / r / is lost in the Southern area. Thomas indicates that it is lost frequently in such words as *very*, *Carolina*, [vɛːɪ, [kʰəlaːnə]. Wise states this loss is found in substandard speech.[49]

In the students' speech the consonant clusters / sp, sps, st, sts, nd / are frequently simplified. Wise shows that this simplification occurs in substandard speech in the Southern area.[50] Hall shows that this simplification takes place in the Smoky Mountain area.[51] Thomas indicates that such simplification is widespread but that the social status of the resultant forms is debatable.[52]

In the students' speech /ɛ~e/ occurs in *afraid*. /ʊ/ usually occurs in *bushel*, *butcher*. /æ/ usually occurs in *catch*. /ɛ/ usually occurs in *deaf*. /ɔɪ/ usually occurs in *joint*. /ʌ/ occurs in *nothing*. /ʌ/ usually occurs in *shut*, *touch*. Kurath and McDavid show that in *afraid* /ɛ/ occurs frequently in parts of Virginia, and occurs in scattered instances in Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia. In *bushel*, *butcher* /ʊ/ usually occurs. /æ/ occurs in *catch* usually in Southern cultivated speech. In *deaf* /ɛ/ is "current throughout the Eastern States." In *shut* and *touch* /ʌ/ occurs in all areas. /ɛ/ occurs in the "folk speech of the South Midland."[53]

In the speech of level I students an initial unstressed syllable is sometimes lost as in *about*, *expected*. Joseph Hall shows that in the Smoky Mountain area in the speech of the less educated, apheresis occurs in words like *about*, *because*, *despise*, *expect*, *excites*: *bout*, *cause*, *spise*, *spect*, *cites*.[54]

GRAMMAR

The parts of speech, function words, sentence patterns and the patterns of subordination and coordination are discussed here.

PARTS OF SPEECH

NOUNS. In the speech of the students the plural of nouns is formed generally as it is in standard English. In *posts* and *wasps* phonetic reductions in the final consonant clusters occur with some frequency. Kenyon and Knott state that this reduction occurs in standard or cultivated American English.[55] Wise states that it is common in Southern speech but that it is considered substandard everywhere.[56] The pronunciation /pɔstɪz/, which occurs sporadically in the speech of the students, is found in type I speech in the Southern and South Midland areas. Level I students sometimes use singular forms as plurals. No information on this feature is included in the studies consulted.

In the level III discussion the possessive singular is formed as it is in standard English. Most of the singular possessives found in the level II discussions are also formed in the same wasy. In the level I discussions approximately half of the possessive forms are identical with the base form of the noun. This possessive form is not found in either standard or substandard English. The plural possessive form used by the students is identical with that found in standard English.

The derivational endings used by the students are found in standard English.

In the speech of the students the following pronouns found in standard English occur: *I*, *we*, *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *they* and *who*. The inflectional variants of all of these except *its* and *mine* are also used. *You-all*, which is used by all types in the Southern area, occurs as a second person plural form. In the speech of the students *hisself*, which is substandard, occurs infrequently. *This-here* and *these-here* occur sporadically. *They* occurs sometimes as a third person plural possessive; *their* is the usual form used by the students. *Hisself* is everywhere considered substandard. Nist states that *this-here, these-here* are used in substandard speech in many areas.[57] *They* as a third person plural possessive is not mentioned in any of the studies which were consulted.

Double subjects occur with some frequency in the level I and II materials. In *Facts About Current Usage*, the usage "My uncle John, he told me a story" is labeled popular or illiterate.[58]

VERBS. In the level I discussions 75% of the third person singular forms are identical with the base form of the verb, in the level II discussions, 49%. This form does not occur in the level III discussion. Only a limited number of third person forms are included in Atwood's study; they, however, give some indication of what is found in the Eastern states. For the third person singular of *do*, Atwood shows that the inflected form *does* is almost unanimous in New England and the Middle Atlantic States (M.A.S.). In the South Atlantic States (S.A.S.) *do* is used "fairly commonly" by type I informants. For the third person singular of *rinse*, *rinses* is usually used everywhere; rinse occurs sporadically. In *what makes*, the base form *make* occurs fairly frequently in the S.A.S. It is primarily a type I form, although type II speakers also use it. *He don't* is almost universal in type I and II in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S. One-half of the cultured speakers also use this form. *People thinks* is the "universal popular form" in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S.[59]

In the speech of the students the inflected forms sometimes occur with plural subjects. The phrases *I work, we work* were recorded in the S.A.S. Atwood shows that *we works* is fairly common in type I speech and that *I works* occasionally occurs.[60]

In the speech of the students a number of the past tense forms of regular verbs, chiefly in level I discussions, are identical with the base forms. The largest number of these occur in discussion 19-1, where 16% of the past tense forms are identical with the base. There are only a few "regular" past tense forms included in Atwood's study. He shows that the past tense of *swell* occurs occasionally as *swell*. The past tense of *ask* occurs as *ask* in Maryland and Virginia, where about one-third of the informants use it. It is less frequently used in North and South Carolina.[61] Fries states that in Vulgate English the past tense form with no dental suffix occurs, for example: "The firm he work for was after him to work."[62]

The past tense of *blow*, *bring*, *come*, *do*, *drink*, *drive*, *grow*, *give*, *swim* and *take*, which occur in the interviews, are included in Atwood's study.

For the past tense of *blow*, all of the students except one have *blew*; one level II student has *blowed*. Atwood shows that *blew* "predominates" among all types in New England and in the M.A.S. *Blowed* is almost universal in the S.A.S. in type I and II speech.[63]

For the past tense of *bring*, all of the students have *brought*. Atwood shows that *brought* is used in all major areas by all classes. *Brung* occurs sporadically in a number of areas.[64]

For the past tense of *come*, all of the students have *came*. Atwood shows that *came* "predominates" in all classes only around New York City; cultured informants everywhere, however, usually have it. In North Carolina all type I informants use *come*. Seven-eighths of the type II informants use it.[65]

For the past tense of *do*, all of the students have *did*. Atwood shows that *did* is universal among cultured speakers. *Done* "predominates" in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S. in the speech of type I and II informants.[66]

For the past tense of *drink*, one level I student has *drunk*, all others have *drank*. Atwood shows that *drank* is generally used by all classes everywhere. *Drunk*, chiefly a type I form, occurs sporadically in the Northern area, somewhat more frequently in the S.A.S.[67]

For the past tense of *drive*, one level I student has *drived*; all others have *drove*. Atwood states that *drove* is used by all classes. *Drived* occurs sporadically in the Southern area, *driv* in New England.[68]

For the past tense of *grow*, two level I students have *growed*; all others have *grew*. Atwood shows that *grew* is "universal in cultured speech." *Growed* occurs in type I speech with a frequency varying from about one-third in New Jersey to over nine-tenths in North Carolina. It also occurs in type II speech.[69]

For the past tense of *give*, all of the students have *gave*. Atwood shows that *gave* is the form used by cultured speakers and "predominates" in type II speech. Two-thirds of the type I informants in Pennsylvania and nine-tenths of them in Virginia and North Carolina use *give*.[70]

For the past tense of *swim*, all of the students have *swam*. Atwood shows that *swam* is universal in cultured speech. *Swum* "predominates" in type I speech in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S.[71]

For the past tense of *take*, all of the students have *took*. *Took* is universal in cultured speech and in all classes in New England and in the M.A.S. *Taken* occurs with fair frequency in the Southern region in type I and II speech.[72]

The past participles of *bite*, *drink*, *drive*, *ride*, *take*, *tear* and *wear*, which occur in the interviews, are included in Atwood's study.

For the past participle of *bite*, three students, one level 1 and nates" among all types in New England and in the M.A.S. *Blowed* is almost universal in the S.A.S. in type I and II speech.[63]

For the past tense of *bring*, all of the students have *brought*. Atwood shows that *brought* is used in all major areas by all classes. *Brung* occurs sporadically in a number of areas.[64]

For the past tense of *come*, all of the students have *came*. Atwood shows that *came* "predominates" in all classes only around New York City; cultured informants everywhere, however, usually have it. In North Carolina all type I informants use *come*. Seven-eighths of the type II informants use it.[65]

For the past tense of *do*, all of the students have *did*. Atwood shows that *did* is universal among cultured speakers. *Done* "predominates" in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S. in the speech of type I and II informants.[66]

For the past tense of *drink*, one level I student has *drunk*, all others have *drank*. Atwood shows that *drank* is generally used by all classes everywhere. *Drunk*, chiefly a type I form, occurs sporadically in the Northern area, somewhat more frequently in the S.A.S.[67]

For the past tense of *drive*, one level I student has *drived*; all others have *drove*. Atwood states that *drove* is used by all classes. *Drived* occurs sporadically in the Southern area, *driv* in New England.[68]

For the past tense of *grow*, two level I students have *growed*; all others have *grew*. Atwood shows that *grew* is "universal in cultured speech." *Growed* occurs in type I speech with a frequency varying from about one-third in New Jersey to over nine-tenths in North Carolina. It also occurs in type II speech.[69]

For the past tense of *give*, all of the students have *gave*. Atwood shows that *gave* is the form used by cultured speakers and "predominates" in type II speech. Two-thirds of the type I informants in Pennsylvania and nine-tenths of them in Virginia and North Carolina use *give*.[70]

For the past tense of *swim*, all of the students have *swam*. Atwood shows that *swam* is universal in cultured speech. *Swum* "predominates" in type I speech in the M.A.S. and the S.A.S.[71]

For the past tense of *take*, all of the students have *took*. *Took* is universal in cultured speech and in all classes in New England and in the M.A.S. *Taken* occurs with fair frequency in the Southern region in type I and II speech.[72]

The past participles of *bite*, *drink*, *drive*, *ride*, *take*, *tear* and *wear*, which occur in the interviews, are included in Atwood's study.

For the past participle of *bite*, three students, one level 1 and two level II, have *bit*; all others have *bitten*. Atwood shows that cultured speakers usually have bitten. In the M.A.S. and the S.A.S. *bit* "predominates" in type I speech. It also occurs in type II speech.[73]

For the past participle of *drink*, one level I student has *drinked*, two level I and two level II students have *drank*; all others have *drunk*. Atwood shows that half of the cultured informants in New England have *drunk*. It is the usual form among the cultured in the S.A.S. *Drinked* occurs sporadically everywhere. *Drank* occurs with some frequency.[74]

For the past participle of *drive*, one level I student has *drove*; all others have *driven*. Atwood shows that *driven* is used by cultured speakers from central Pennsylvania northward; it is less frequently used in the South. *Drove* is used by type I speakers everywhere; type II speakers also use it.[75]

For the past participle of *ride*, three students, two on level I, one on level II, have *rode*; one level I student has *rid*; all others have *ridden*. Atwood shows that *ridden* is "universal in cultivated speech." *Rode* is the most common form used by type I informants in the M.A.S. and S.A.S.[76]

For the past participle of *take*, two level I students have *took*; all others haven *taken*. Atwood says that *taken* is the most common form everywhere. *Took* occurs in all areas, but is "not very common."[77]

For the past participle of *tear*, two students, one level one and one level two, have *tore*; all others have *torn*. Atwood shows that *torn* is almost universal in cultured speech. *Tore* is almost universal in type I speech in the S.A.S. and "dominates" in type II speech.[78]

For the past participle of *wear*, one level I student has *wore*; all others have *worn*. Atwood shows that *worn* occurs in cultured speeech everywhere. In the M.A.S. and the S.A.S. type I informants frequently have *wore*; type II informants also use this form, but less frequently.[79]

In the speech of the students the present participle has the ending /-ɪŋ/ or /-ɪn/. Cultured informants in New England and the M.A.S. use /-ɪŋ/; in the S.A.S. they use both.[80]

The derivational suffixes which the students use are among those found in standard English.

In the speech of the students the verb *be* has five present tense forms: *am*, *is*, *are*, *be* and the zero copula. *Am* usually occurs with *I*. *Is*, *be* and the zero copula occur with *he* or a singular noun; *is* occurs in 90% of the instances. *Are* occurs with *we*. *Are*, *be* and the zero copula occur with *you*; *be* occurs in 66% of the instances. *Are*, *is*, *be* and the zero copula occur with *they* or a plural noun; *are* occurs in 79% of the instances.

Be has two past tense forms, *was* and *were*. *Was* occurs with *I*, *he* or a *singular* noun. *Was* and *were* occur with *you*; *was* occurs in 60% of the instances. *Was* and *were* occur with *they* or a plural noun; *were* occurs in 86% of the instances.

The forms *am*, *is*, *are*, *was*, *were* are found in standard English. Atwood shows that *be* finite occurs in the phrase *tall as I be*, which has some currency in New England and Pennsylvania.[81]

The entry under *be* in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* shows that *be* finite (labeled *dial*) occurs in American and British English. Some indication is given in Catherine Marshall's novel *Christy*, set in the Smokies, that the form may be found in the Southern Mountain region. The following are statements made by two of her characters:

> "That be Bob Allen."
>
> "That be a sealed bargain, fair and square."[82]

Atwood shows that *is I* has some currency in the S.A.S. in the speech of type I informants; *is they* also occurs but with less frequency.[83]

The zero copula does not occur in Atwood's materials. Some indication that it may occur in the Southern region is given in *Christy*:

> "Back name be Holt. Six of us Holts in school."
>
> "Mission House just around the bend now," the old man said to Christy.[84]

The students use the auxiliaries which are found in standard English. Some forms which they use, however, do not occur as auxiliaries in the standard language. Level I students use *done* as an auxiliary; level I and II students use *be* finite. There are instances in which the auxiliary is omitted. McDavid shows that type I and II speakers in the South and South Midland use *done* as an auxiliary in the following:

> I('ve) done told you that.[86]

Atwood does not include material on the use of *be* as an auxiliary. Some indication is given in *Christy* that it may be found in the Southern Mountain region:

> "Oh, Paw's head be mending fine now."[87]

In the speech of the students, as in standard English, verbs function as subjects, direct objects, subjective complements, objects of prepositions and as modifiers of nouns, adjectives and sentences. Their positions in the speech of the students are the same as they are in standard English.

ADJECTIVES. The adjectives which occur in the students' speech are found in standard English. Many of these are marked by derivational suffixes, all of which are found in standard English.

The positions and functions of adjectives in the students' speech are the same as they are in standard English.

ADVERBS. Most of the adverbs which the students use occur in standard English. One, noway, is considered substandard. Webster's Third New International Dictionary labels noway as dial and, as an illustration of its use, quotes a statement from Erskine Caldwell's works:

> "Me and my wife ain't got much longer to live noway."

The positions and functions of adverbs in the students' speech are the same as they are in standard English.

FUNCTION WORDS

The determiners used by the students are found in standard English. Their use of a and an, however, differs somewhat from that found in standard speech. An is generally used in standard speech before words beginning with vowels. In the speech of the students both a and an occur before vowels; a occurs in 58% of the instances where an might occur. McDavid shows that a apple is used by type I and II speakers in the Southern area and states that the pattern "is apparently spreading."[88]

The qualifiers, prepostions, conjuctions and sentences connectors used by the students are found in standard English.

The initiators which the students use are found in standard English. The students' use of stabilizers and fillers is like that found in standard English. Andrew Wilkerson, in Spoken English, states that stabilizers and fillers are among those features which are "common to everyone's speech" in any style below the formal.[89]

SENTENCE PATTERNS

Most of the sentence patterns used by the students are found in standard English. Two of them are not. The statement pattern it + be + subject, in which it replaces there of standard English, occurs with some frequency, chiefly in the speech of level I and II students. Atwood shows that it's many people occurs with some frequency in the Cheasapeake Bay area and in West Virginia. It is "about as common in type II speech as in type I, and three cultured informants use it."[90]

Double negatives occur in the speech of the level I and II students. The use of double negatives, although widespread, is considered substandard everywhere.

The question and request patterns used by the students are the same as those found in standard English.

MODIFICATION AND COORDINATION

The patterns of modification and coordination used by the students are found in standard English. In their speech nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, function words and sentences occur as heads modified by other structures. The positions of the modifiers of these heads are the same as those in standard English.

Statements like the following occur sporadically in the students' speech:

> The first man died who had the linen factory.

This pattern is often taken to be substandard. Lloyd and Warfel in American English in Its Cultural Setting state that it occurs in speech and give the following example:

> A man came in who had been waiting for several hours.[91]

SUMMARY

The phonological system of the students' speech is like that which is found in the Southern area. The phonemic system is the same as that of standard Southern speech. Almost all of the vowel phonemes have diphthongal allophones. This is one of the characteristics of Southern speech. A few allophones of the vowel phonemes occur chiefly in substandard speech. The incidence of the phonemes in their speech is generally the same as that found in standard Southern speech. In some instances, however, the incidence is like that found in substandard Southern speech or substandard American speech in general.

The grammatical patterns found in the speech of the level III students are generally those found in standard English. A number of the patterns found in the speech of level I and II students occur chiefly in substandard English. Two forms used by them, the singular possessive noun form which is identical with the base form of the noun and the plural possessive pronoun form they, are not mentioned in any study of substandard speech consulted. The zero copula which is found in their speech may occur in the Southern Mountain area.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

1. Raven McDavid points out in "American Social Dialects," *College English*, 46 (1965), 254-260, that those who teach English need to know a great deal about the various types of English and how they are related to each other.

2. A study of the suprasegmental phonemes is not one of the purposes of this study.

3. These are listed in *Language Research in Progress: 5* (Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967).

4. Roger Shuy, editor, *Social Dialects and Language Learning* (Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965). This includes reports given at the conference and resumes of the discussions.

5. One volunteer had a speech defect; another one, therefore, was selected.

6. No attempt was made to learn the basis of the grouping.

7. Charles C. Fries, *The Structure of English* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952).

8. W. Nelson Francis, *The Structure of American English* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958).

CHAPTER II

1. This is basically the IPA notation with some slight variation.

2. *Boy* is found only in the discussions.

3. Occurring not more than four times.

4. This analysis follows that of Hans Kurath. See Hans Kurath and Raven McDavid Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).

5. *Television* and *garage* occur only in the discussions and free conversation. / ž / occurs infrequently in *garage*.

6. *Skin* occurs regularly for *(bacon) rind*.

7. *Bath* occurs in the phrase *bath towel*.

8. This follows the analysis of Hans Kurath. See Note 4.

CHAPTER III

1. Story occurs only in the discussions.

2. Fireirons is of infrequent occurrence in the interviews.

3. Kurath and McDavid, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

1. It seems more practical to use traditional spelling. This method is also used by W. Nelson Francis in The Structure of American English.

2. The definition of the sentence used here is that given by W. Nelson Francis in The Structure of American English and by C. C. Fries in The Structure of English. Segmentation of the transcriptions into sentences is made chiefly on the basis of intonation contours and juncture. The end of a sentence is marked by a 3 1 contour followed by a pause or a rising question contour followed by a pause. O'Donnell, Griffin and Norris used this method in segmenting transcriptions in their study, The Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children, (National Council of Teachers of English, 1967).

3. This is the only structure like this in the discussions.

CHAPTER V

1. Wilkinson uses the term "stabilizer" in Spoken English, (London: University of Birmingham, 1965). He states that stabilizers may be used positively or negatively; positively "they enable a speaker to think while speaking... negatively they may be a sign of incoherence....," pp. 29, 124.

CHAPTER VI

1. Sentences are here classified as statements, negatives, questions and requests. This generally follows the classification used by Francis and Fries.

2. This sentence also occurs in 19-1.

3. Be may be used with all persons, singular and plural.

4. This is really two patterns, but it seems more practical to combine them for the discussion here.

5. This student has only two sentences with no copula.

6. The intonation is 2 3 and rising.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1949).

2. Arthur J. Bronstein, *The Pronunciation of American English* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. 40.

3. Claude M. Wise, *Applied Phonetics* (Edglewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), p. 178.

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11. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

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17. Wise, *op. cit.*, p.217.

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

22. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

23. Kurath and McDavid, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

24. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

25. Kurath and McDavid, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

26. Bronstein, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

27. Kurath and McDavid, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

29. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

30. News story in the Sunday Supplement of *The Commercial Appeal* (Memphis), April 14, 1968.

31. Kurath and McDavid, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

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87. Marshall, op. cit., p. 78.

88. McDavid, op. cit., p. 526.

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91. Donald Lloyd and Henry R. Warfel, American English in Its Cultural Setting (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 199.

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APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE STUDENTS

Student 1-II: Age 17, 11th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Both parents born in Mississippi. Mother, a hospital clerk; completed one year of college; reads often. Father, an upholsterer and part-time barber; finished high school; seldom reads. Student attended local schools; has traveled briefly in Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas; has had no regular employment. Reads often, preferring biographies and other non-fiction works. Likes TV soap operas and comedies. Hobbies are cooking and sewing. Enjoys club meetings, dances and card parties. Aggressive; self-confident. Popular with students.

Student 2-I: Age 15, 10th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a maid; father, retired. Student did not know birthplace, reading habits and educational background of parents. Student attended local schools; has had no job or travel experiences; seldom reads. Likes television, swimming and dancing. Works as assistant in school library. Does not participate in extra-curricular activities. Somewhat dull but affable and anxious to please.

Student 3-II: Age 18, 12th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Father, deceased. Mother, a cosmetologist; born in Arkansas; completed 11th grade; reads often. Student attended local schools; has visited Chicago, Detroit, Washington and Canada; has worked as babysitter and clerk; works now as student assistant in school's Guidance Center. Likes reading, television, movies. Hobbies are bowling, skating, piano playing, shopping. Out-going, pleasant, cooperative.

Student 4-II: Age 16, 10th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a housewife; born in Mississippi; completed 8th grade; reads seldom, mainly the Bible. Father, a lift operator; born in Memphis; completed 9th grade; reads daily paper and novels. Student attended local schools; has toured Nashville, Tennessee with school group. Has done occasional babysitting. Likes reading, television and drawing. Attends movies and parties fairly often. Soft-spoken, rather shy, cooperative.

Student 5-I: Age 16, 10th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Both parents native Mississippians. Mother, a housewife; completed third grade; reads newspaper. Father, deceased; completed 5th or 6th grade. Student has visited in Chicago; has had one job, as babysitter. Likes reading, television, bowling. Teaches Sunday School occasionally. Slow, unsure of herself, but cooperative and eager to please.

Student 6-III: Age 17, 12th grade, Carver High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a housewife; born in Mississippi; completed 10th grade; reads seldom. Father, a guard for the U.S. Post Office; born in Memphis; completed 12th grade; reads often. Student attended local schools; has traveled in Chicago, Detroit and visited Washington D.C. on an educational tour as one of the top five students in his class. Worked two summers as Music Director with Memphis Park Commissioners; taught music lessons. Reads all the time; watches television seldom; plays three instruments in the band. Has participated in many contests; has won many awards. Likes card parties; participates in school socials. Talkative, self-assured.

Student 7-II: Age 16, 11th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Birthplace of parents, unknown to the student. Mother, a housewife; 6th grade education. Father, a construction firm worker, 9th grade. Both read newspapers. Student has never been out of Memphis; worked with Neighborhood Youth Corps last summer. Likes books on science and foreign languages. Looks at television daily, preferring science fiction programs. Hobbies are fishing, dancing. Does not participate in school activities.

Student 8-III: Age 18, 12th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a teacher; college graduate; born in Memphis. Father, deceased. Student attended local schools; has made brief trips to Nashville and St. Louis; worked as paperboy when a child. Likes books on personality and self-improvement. Enjoys all kinds of music, bowling, television, dancing and all types of social activities. A very popular student. President of Student Council. Plans to major in political science at local college, which has given him a scholarship. Talkative, self-assured, pleasant and out-going.

Student 9-II: Age 16, 11th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a high school graduate; works as wool presser in laundry; reads often. Step-father, disabled and retired; seldom reads. Student attended local schools; has visited in Evanston, Illinois; works occasionally as baby-sitter. Likes novels, seldom looks at television. Enjoys playing softball, dancing, sewing, cooking. Member of off-campus social club. Soft-spoken, shy, not very talkative.

Student 10-I: Age 15, 10th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Both parents born in Memphis. Mother, a housewife; completed 11th grade. Father works for hardware firm; has had two years of college. Both parents do little reading. Student has lived in and attended school for a year each in Chicago and Gary, Indiana; has held jobs as baby-sitter. Likes to read humorous stories. Enjoys television, softball, movies, swimming, sewing, cooking and dancing. Attends church regularly and teaches a Sunday School class occasionally. Does not participate in social clubs on or off-campus. Plans to major in nursing after graduation. Dull; slow to respond; did not volunteer any information.

Student 11-I: Age 16, 10th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Mother, a housewife; finished high school; often reads newspapers and magazines. Father, a machine shop laborer; extent of schooling, unknown to the student; never reads. Student attended local schools; has traveled in Arkansas; worked on farm and in grocery. Does almost no outside reading. Looks at television occasionally, preferring horror and mystery stories. Hobbies are dancing, drawing, softball, football and playing drums. Seldom attends church. Non-communicative, stolid.

Student 12-III: Age 17, 12th grade, Manassas High School. Native Memphian. Mother, born in Memphis; father, in Texas. Both college graduates and teachers in local school systems; Parents are now divorced. Student was educated in local schools; has visited in Texas briefly and has worked summers as secretary. Reads often. Likes TV. A "joiner" who participates in social activities often. Likes singing, dancing. Quite talkative, poised, self-confident.

Student 13-II: Age 16, 10th grade, Washington High School. Native Memphian. Mother, born in Mississippi; finished 8th grade; employed in laundry; seldom reads. Father, unknown. Student attended local schools and has traveled in Mississippi; does baby-sitting occasionally. Likes reading, television, movies, knitting. Participates in social activities fairly often. Attends church regularly and sings in choir.

Student 14-I: Age 17, 11th grade, Washington High School. Native Memphian. Mother, born in Arkansas; finished high school, a housewife; reads often. Father, born in Mississippi; completed 7th or 8th grade; a truck driver and carpenter; reads little more than daily newspaper. Student attended local schools; has visited in Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit; has worked as busboy in cafeteria. Likes to read about world affairs and sports events. Enjoys television, playing baseball, football; likes rock and roll music, dancing, pool, cards, checkers. Has extensive popular record collection. Cooperative, talkative, volunteered information.

Student 15-II: Age 16, 11th grade, Washington High School. Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mother born in Arkansas; works at local hospital, completed 11th grade; seldoms reads more than daily paper. Father born in Arkansas; works at bus station in Grand Rapids; completed 11th grade; reads fairly often, mainly novels. Parents separated; Student reared by grandmother who lives in Memphis. Student attended grades one through three in Grand Rapids; other schooling received in Memphis public schools. Has traveled in Mississippi and Arkansas; has had no job experience. Likes to read, especially biographies. Does not watch TV often. Likes movies, swimming, popular music. Seldom participates in social activities. Not too talkative, reserved.

Student 16-I: Age 17, 12th grade, Washington High School. Native Memphian. Both parents, natives of Mississippi. Mother, a housewife; father, a retired laborer. Both received less than twelve years schooling, exact amount unknown to student. Both read newspapers and magazines often. Student attended local schools; has visited in Nashville, Lake Providence, Louisiana and West Memphis, Arkansas. Has worked as hotel bellboy and caterer's helper. Reads often, newspapers, sport magazines, biographies. Hobbies are football and movies. Has been given band scholarship to local state college. Very talkative, cooperative.

Student 17-II: Age 16, 10th grade, Washington High School. Native Memphian. Both parents, natives of Mississippi. Mother, a housewife; completed 11th grade; reads often. Father, a self-employed painter; extent of education, unknown; never reads. Student attended local schools; has had no job or travel experience. Reads often, preferring novels and short stories. Seldom watches television. Likes football, dancing, parties, sewing. Active in campus clubs; a cosmetology major.

Student 18-II: Age 18, 12th grade, Washington High School. Native of Sunflower County, Mississippi. Both parents born in Mississippi. Mother, a housewife, high school graduate, reads often, especially newspapers and magazines. Father deceased. Student attended local schools; has worked part-time after school and summers as secretary with Federal Aviation Agency. Likes to read, especially novels; looks at television occasionally. Enjoys reading, movies, scouting, church activities, parties and dancing. Plans to attend Knox College on scholarship, and major in biology. Demure, soft-spoken, not talkative.

APPENDIX B

SELECTION READ BY THE STUDENTS[1]

One harried rainy day, rather late in February, we started south along a desolate road through the forest. Now and then we heard frogs in the swamps on the peninsula. Later a goose honked, and fog rolled in from the water. After three or four miles the road came out onto a barren stretch. Here and there was a barnyard with a donkey or a few hogs. Some orange flowers grew beside the road. Suddenly the rain came down in torrents, and the roof of the car began to leak. We were sorry that we hadn't fixed it before leaving home, but our plans had involved so many details that we hadn't bothered. Our clothes absorbed so much dampness that we felt cold, so we hurried to the next village. After leaving the car to be gassed at a garage, we found a restaurant, where we ordered coffee and pancakes with maple syrup. We waited for lunch by a huge fireplace where a cheerful log fire was burning. The walls and floors were made with heavy pine boards which were black with soot. We were surprised to see various queer things in the corners. There was a glass case filled with dolls, some of which were from foreign lands. Next to the chimney was a calendar that advertised a laundry, and beyond it was a horrible old parrot on a perch. We watched this absurd scene until a waiter brought our lunch through a narrow sort of corridor from the kitchen. While we ate, we tried to solve a crossword puzzle, but our hands were so greasy that we had to wash and rinse them first. When we finished, we found that the rain had cleared up enough to warrant our going on. We borrowed a cloth to clean the car window and hoped that tomorrow would bring good weather. The route numbers seemed to correspond with the ones on our road map, and we followed it past the old stone quarry near the Oregon state line. That night we slept in a tourist cabin and listened to a windmill which revolved slowly and noisily outside our door.

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[1] From An Introduction to the Phonetics of American English, Second Edition, by Charles Kenneth Thomas. Copyright 1958, by The Ronald Press Company, New York, p. 243. Used by permission of The Ronald Press Company.

APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSIONS

19-I

In Julius Caesar--what the man name?--Cassius--well, they killed him because they wanted his wealth and his, his throne. I think that's what it was.

Julius Caesar and Cassius were close friends, but when Cassius and Brutus made the plot on the morning of March 14th, Brutus sent Decius to Caesar house to bring him to the Senate House, and Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, told Bru--told Caesar not to stir in the morning because death was waiting on him, and--she, she had a dream--that she went and told him that she had a dream about Caesar. She dream about him, bout his statue bleeding--something--he told her that cowards die many times and, and--before their death. He said the valiant died only once, and when, when, when Decius came to his house he told him that that dream meant that--that-- told him the dream was different. He say it meant that it would be a good day for him. And he went out, and then he met his death.

The soothsayer told him to beware the Ides of March. He told the soothsayer to, to leave him, and he told the soothsayer to leave him, and the--and they took the soothsayer out of, of the palace, I think, I guess.

One of the stories we read where Helen Keller--and the title of this story was "Three Days to See," I mean "Three Days to See," wasn't it? "Three Days to See," and Helen Keller was a--she was a writer too, and she wrote a novel bout a if--"Three Days to See" and, and wait a minute. Well, I think of a lot of stuff when I'm sitting down, but when I get ready to say it, I forget it.

22-I

I think by reading the Bible stories that you should take out the--I mean see the mistakes that other people make and then you should correct them, if you've made them, you should go back over them and try to make up for them and don't make them again and I think you should really get something out of them.

Whenever I read a Biblical Story, I try to compare my life within it and live my life better than the Prodigal Son--the boy did in Prodigal Son, and reading Biblical Stories, it help boys and girls to improve their life and not to fall in the same footsteps as some other man did.

28-I

Well, how great was the change in Silas life when he found the little orphan child, Eppie? Uh, the change in Silas Marner life was great because he had to start trusting and believing in people and when he found this little girl, he just took a new outlook at life and he was very happy and everything.

Do you think Godfrey acted wisely when he didn't tell the people of Raveloe that Molly was his child when she died? Well, I think, I don't think Godfrey act too wise because probably if he had went on and told folks that Eppie was his daughter they wouldn't look too hard on him but keeping it a secret, you know, to well um.

21-II

I don't think that we will be the class that will be graduating from Northside High because they said that we are supposed to move from the first semester, the last of the first semester, and if we do, it will be very complicated, and the second semester will never get started because records will be, I think they'd be mixed all up and books will be every place and it's just not possible for us to move within the last of the first semester, and then finish out the second semester.

25-II

I don't think students should be grouped according to their ability, because that's what's wrong with people, with some people today. They think or feel that they are not as good or in other words, not as good as the next person and some students don't have any abilities and at least, they don't show any, but you put a person in a class with students that, you know, seem bright and that person will be influenced by this bright person, and he will soon, would like to be like the other one; so therefore, it will, he will soon bring out his ability. He will put up a big struggle to try to keep up with this next person.

30-II

Well, I think we should have in a good Student Council president someone who's gonna be responsible--who is going to take on responsibility and accept them as they come to him and carry on school activities and lots of other stuff.

I feel that a good Student Council president must have the ability to lead and to get along well with others because that is what we would want.

Well, I think a, a good Student Council president should be one who has character, and who has the ability to lead others, and a, a person who shouldn't be--just because he is the leader, shouldn't try to take everything in his own hands. I think he should be one who would willingly accept suggestions from other people, and even though he is in the high position, he should always maintain his character and have a pleasing personality so that everyone will enjoy his leadership. I mean a person who, who, who knows how to conduct himself, a person who knows how to conduct himselves at certain times, and just like when he's in the meeting, he's not--he's s'pose to be sincere, you know, in what he does; he's not supposed to be silly and, and you know just be comical all the time. He's supposed to be serious and be deep in thought, you know, because I mean--have, you know, be, be--he should, let me see, wait a minute. He should be sincere and always ready to, you know, this is not a plaything. When you're the president of something as large as the Student Council and you should--it's not exactly solemn, but it's not a time for fun and play.

20-III

I believe, well, this is the question--"Will we move over?" We will not be able to move over there if the school is not completed. True-which at this stage it is not. Therefore, in order for us to be able to move into this school, it will have to be completed before the end, I mean before next school year. Well, it's halfway through, It is not completed yet, therefore we will have to finish here at Manassas next year, I mean we will finish at Manassas and then the year after that, the junior class will graduate from Northside.

It's no doubt that there no longer will be a Manassas and everyone when the new Northside is finished, we'll go to Northside, but the reason we were saying that we wouldn't go if the school wasn't completed....All I was going to say is that the school would have to be finished in September but it will not, therefore, the juniors this year will graduate from Manassas and they will probably be the last group to graduate and the juniors of next year will be going to Northside.

It was stated, I think by Mr. Westbrook sometime in auditorium period, that if, the school is finished by the first semester of next year -it is planned to be finished by the first semester, then we will go into it and we will be the graduating class. That was just about what I was going to say, that there were certain people who said that we will move from Manassas to Northside once, if the school is finished, you know, by the end of the first semester. Otherwise we'll stay here but uh, if the schedule goes ahead as planned, we will graduate from Northside High the second semester of next year.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF SYMBOLS USED

The phonetic alphabet used in this study is based on that of the IPA. Key words for each of the sounds which the symbols represent are given in chapter II. Certain of the symbols used are listed below:

~	Is in alternation with, alternates with or alternating with.
∧	After a vowel indicates that it is raised; ∨ , that it is lowered; < , that it is fronted; > , that it is retracted.
.	Under a consonant indicates that the consonant is syllabic.
.	Under /ə / or /ɜ / indicates retroflexion.
:	After a vowel or consonant indicates that the sound is long; . , that it is half long.
/ /	Slant lines indicate phonemic transcription.
[ ]	Brackets indicate a phonetic transcription.
∅	Indicates the zero phoneme or the zero morpheme.